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Everett. P. Wheeler
5 Oct. 1914
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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMI,

KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES,

And an eighth in Quarto, containing Maps, Plans, Views, and Coins, illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of Ancient Greece.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Paternoster-Row.

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PREFACE

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE Work now offered to the Engliſh reader exhibits a complete view of the antiquities, manners, cuſtoms, religious ceremonies, laws, arts, and literature of ancient Greece, at the period of its greateſt ſplendour. A knowledge of theſe has hitherto been only attainable by a laborious peruſal of writers who have been little ſolicitous to join entertainment with inſtruction. The Travels of Anacharſis, on the contrary, are ſo written, that the reader may frequently be induced to imagine he is peruſing a work of mere amuſement, invention, and

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fancy; till his eye glances to the bottom of the page, when he perceives there is ſcarcely a ſentence, and not a ſingle fact or circumſtance, but is ſupported by the authority of ſome ancient author. The amazing number of theſe quotations may, perhaps, at firſt ſight, ſeem to have been unneceſſary, and to have more the appearance of a parade of erudition, than to be of any real utility: but it is to be remembered that, at the ſame time that they muſt be highly acceptable to the man of real learning, by enabling him to refer immediately to the original author, they are extremely uſeful, nay, I may ſay, abſolutely neceſſary, even to ſuch readers as can never be ſuppoſed to have any intention to conſult the authorities quoted; as they clearly ſhew that ſuch an idea, or ſuch a circumſtance, is not merely a decoration, or the offspring of the fancy of the author, but immediately taken from ſome ancient writer, and therefore perfectly accordant to the general ſcope and plan of the work.

A ſum-

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A ſummary of the hiſtory of Greece for the ſame period is likewiſe given, in which the ſame novelty of plan is conſiſtently preſerved. In the private letters which paſs between Anacharſis and his friends, relative to the deſigns of Philip of Macedon, and the progreſs of that ambitious and ſubtle politician in his attempts, which ultimately proved but too ſucceſsful, to overturn the liberty of Greece, and render himſelf its ſovereign, the circumſtances are ſelected with great judgment and delicacy: they are preciſely ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to have been the popular topics of the day among the giddy multitude of Athens; and many of them will be found new even to ſuch perſons as are already tolerably acquainted with the hiſtory of that period. This is indeed a merit which pervades the whole work. The novelty of the plan might have been an apology for the introduction of common-place facts and trite anecdotes: but though it was impoſſible, conſiſtent with the nature

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of the deſign, not to give many which muſt be familiar to thoſe who are at all acquainted with the Grecian hiſtory and antiquities; yet it is certain there are ſtill very many which will be found new by thoſe whoſe knowledge of theſe ſubjects deſerves not to be termed ſuperficial.

As I have ſpoken of the *novelty* of the plan, it may not be improper to mention what has already been ſaid on that ſubject, as it will afford an opportunity to introduce the account which the Abbé has himſelf given of the origin of his deſign, and which may be conſidered as a proper ſupplement to his advertiſement that immediately follows this preface.

In one of the moſt reſpectable of the preſent periodical publications, the author of an extremely judicious critique on the original of this work had hinted the "poſſibility that the learned author "of Anacharſis had taken the hint of his "plan from the ſuppoſed but excellent "ATHENIAN LETTERS; a work very "little known, becauſe never (properly "ſpeak-

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" ſpeaking) publiſhed. It conſiſts of the " imaginary correſpondence of a ſet of " Greek gentlemen, the contemporaries " of Socrates, Pericles, and Plato; but " was in reality the actual correſpon- " dence of a ſociety of ingenious perſons, " of the univerſity of Cambridge; who, " in this aſſumed mode, communicated " to each other the reſult of their re- " ſearches into ancient hiſtory; and pro- " duced the beſt commentary on Thucy- " cides that ever was written. At length, " the number of their letters became ſo " conſiderable, that, to prevent the trou- " ble of tranſcribing them for the uſe of " the ſociety, it was reſolved to print " about a dozen copies; which was ac- " cordingly done by Bettenham, in four " octavo volumes, 1741 *."

The Abbé Barthelemi having ſeen this in France, wrote a letter in conſequence to M. Dutens, a reſpectable foreign gentleman reſiding in London, in which he

* Monthly Review, Appendix to Vol. LXXXI.

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aſſures him that "it was not till after the "publication of his work that he heard "of the *Athenian Letters;* and that chance "alone gave him the idea of it." He adds, "I travelled into Italy in 1755: "the appearance of this beautiful country "made me regret its ancient glory; and "I was continually tranſporting myſelf "to that period of the revival of letters "and the arts, when each city ſhould "grow proud with the proſperity of the "former, and ornament itſelf with the "productions of the latter; when the "*Medici*, the *Urſini*, the *Farneſi*, the "Houſe of Eſt, and other petty ſove-"reigns, hitherto divided by ſeparate in-"tereſts, ſhould emulate each other in "drawing to their courts both amuſement "and talents. Theſe pleaſing viſions ſo "often preſenting themſelves to my ima-"gination, I thought it might be poſſible "to embody them, in ſuppoſed travels "through Italy, toward the reign of "Leo X. I reflected for ſome time on "this project; and then perceived it "would

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"would engage me in enquiries too re-
"mote from thoſe which had hitherto
"occupied my attention. The hiſtory
"of the Greeks juſt then ſuddenly offer-
"ing to my view a more extended, and
"ſtill more dramatic ſcene, I eagerly
"embraced it; and, at my return from
"Italy, in 1757, began the *Travels of*
"*Anacharſis.*"

I have yet to ſay a word or two of the tranſlation. I have, in general, been rather ſolicitous to give the meaning of the original faithfully and accurately, than to be minutely nice in my language and ſtyle. At the ſame time, I have not been unmindful of endeavouring, at leaſt, to make my author ſpeak good Engliſh, and untainted, as much as may be, with foreign idiom; but I am far from having ſufficient vanity to ſuppoſe that from the latter of theſe defects my verſion is entirely free. The difficulty of tranſlation is beſt known to thoſe who have moſt frequently attempted to render what has been written in one language into ano-

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ther; nor to thoſe who have ſeldom been ſo employed can the difficulties by which this ſpecies of compoſition is ſurrounded, be diſtinctly known. Unfaithfulneſs to the author on the one hand, and corruption of idiom on the other, are the Charybdis and Scylla of tranſlators. Different nations not only uſe different words and expreſſions to ſignify the ſame thing, but have different modes of thinking on the ſame ſubject. The ardour and vivacity of our ſanguine neighbours frequently appear unnatural, and even ridiculous, to our more phlegmatic countrymen. Metaphors authorized by cuſtom, the great arbiter in every queſtion of this kind, may appear proper, and even elegant, in one language; when in another, to which they are a novelty, they would be eſteemed harſh, forced, and inadmiſſible; and great is the perplexity frequently occaſioned to the tranſlator by ſuch figures: if he admits the metaphor, he offends by riſking an expreſſion unuſual, harſh, and in ſome ſenſe chargeable with

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with foreign idiom; if he entirely neglects it, he enfeebles the language; and if he ſubſtitutes another, more agreeable to the genius of his own tongue, it may be alleged that he has not kept ſufficiently cloſe to the expreſſion of his author. The French language frequently indulges in ſuch figurative expreſſions: the ſentimental ardour of the nation continually produces a ſtyle which to an Engliſh reader will appear to border on inflation and bombaſt. There is certainly much leſs of this ſtyle in the preſent work than in many others in that language; becauſe the author, having formed his taſte on the correct and chaſte models of antiquity, has given leſs into it: but ſtill the genius of the language will occaſionally diſplay itſelf, and the tranſlator find reaſon to exclaim—

Nobis non licet eſſe tam diſertis.

But, without purſuing this diſcuſſion farther, I ſhall proceed to what is of more importance to the reader who ſeeks for infor-

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information—the care that has been taken to preſent him with a faithful and accurate verſion. The tranſlator, though he has beſtowed the utmoſt attention to perform properly this part of his taſk, does not mean arrogantly to affirm that he has committed no miſtakes. If ſuch ſhould be diſcovered, let the wide field which the work embraces be taken into conſideration; it includes almoſt every art, and the whole circle of ancient literature: to aſſert that no error has been committed in the expreſſion, or the proper technical terms relative to theſe, could only diſplay the preſumptuous conceit of ignorance.

As cuſtom has beſtowed on languages different metaphors, ſo alſo has it furniſhed ſome with terms more appoſite than others perhaps poſſeſs. The French expreſſion *place publique*, uſed to ſignify the place which was at once the market and that in which the people met to converſe, and aſſembled to deliberate on public affairs, appears to me preferable

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to the term *forum*, by which I have rendered it, and which has been adopted from the Romans, who employed it to expreſs the ſame kind of place; but it ſeems ſcarcely applied with propriety when we are ſpeaking of a Grecian city. The word *tribune*, likewiſe, which the French employ to ſignify the pulpit or gallery from which the orators addreſſed the people, is to be preferred to the word *roſtrum*, which I have uſed to avoid circumlocution. This, like the former, is of Latin origin: the Romans indeed always uſed it in the plural *(roſtra)*; and I ſhould have written it ſo, had I ſpoken of that which ſtood in the Roman forum: but it is more familiar than the word *ſuggeſtum*, which indeed might have been more proper, and is to be found in our Engliſh dictionaries, where the latter is not.

The French meaſures in the work and in the tables, I have carefully reduced to Engliſh. The leagues I have given as they ſtood, becauſe the difference between

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between them and a meaſure of three Engliſh miles, is too little to deſerve notice. But it may not be improper to mention here, that the league of 2500 toiſes, uſed by M. Barthelemi in this work, is longer than three Engliſh ſtatute miles by 48 yards, 2 feet, 3 inches. Where an odd number of toiſes has been added to the leagues, I have generally reduced them to the half, quarter, or ſome fraction of the league; but if more accuracy ſhould be required, it may always be obtained by referring to the tables at the end of the work, for the value of the ſtadia, &c. in French and Engliſh meaſures. Some of the reductions into Engliſh yards, feet, &c. in the firſt volumes, differ a little from thoſe given in the tables; becauſe I then uſed the proportion given by Mr. Graham, in vol. xlii. of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, according to which the French foot is to the Engliſh as 114 to 107, or equal to 12,785 inches Engliſh: but in reducing the

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the tables, I have made uſe of a later and more correct proportion, given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. lviii. page 325, by the preſent Aſtronomer Royal, Dr. Maſkelyne; who, on occaſion of the menſuration of a degree of latitude in North America, applied to that excellent aſtronomer M. de la Lande, who ſent him from Paris two toiſes exactly adjuſted to the ſtandard of thoſe made uſe of by Meſſrs. de la Condamine and Bouguer in the meaſure of a degree of latitude in Peru; from the mean length of which it appeared that the French toiſe contains 76,7344 Engliſh inches. The French weights I have computed from the proportion of the French and Engliſh grains, as given by M. Barthelemi himſelf.

In the quarto volume, the maps alone may be conſidered as a new and valuable work. The introductory obſervations by which they are accompanied, prove the labour and care that the compiler of them, M. Barbié du Bocage, has uſed

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uſed to render them more accurate than any thing of the kind that has hitherto appeared. The tranſlator has endeavoured to beſtow equal care to give the names of places correctly, as they are found in ancient authors. There is ſcarcely a ſingle town, the name of which has not been ſought for and examined in Strabo, Pauſanias, or Pliny. A very few ſlips of the engraver, of no real conſequence, in ſome of the firſt impreſſions, it is hoped are the only inaccuracies which will be found in this part of the work.

I ſhall here conclude my addreſs to the reader and the critic, and ſubmit to the attention of the one and the candour of the other, a work, which, unleſs I am miſtaken, is equal to any that France has for many years paſt produced, and the excellences of which may perhaps make the defects of the tranſlation paſs unnoticed.

ADVER-

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ADVERTISEMENT

BY

THE AUTHOR.

I Imagine a Scythian, named Anacharſis, to arrive in Greece, ſome years before the birth of Alexander; and that from Athens, the uſual place of his reſidence, he makes ſeveral excurſions into the neighbouring provinces; every where obſerving the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, being preſent at their feſtivals, and ſtudying the nature of their governments; ſometimes dedicating his leiſure to enquiries relative to the progreſs of the human mind, and ſometimes converſing with the great men who flouriſhed at that time; with Epaminondas,

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nondas, Phocion, Xenophon, Plato, Ariſtotle, Demoſthenes, &c. As ſoon as he has ſeen Greece enſlaved by Philip, the father of Alexander, he returns into Scythia, where he puts in order an account of his travels; and, to prevent any interruption in his narrative, relates in an introduction the memorable events which had paſſed in Greece before he left Scythia.

The æra I have choſen, which is one of the moſt intereſting that the hiſtory of nations preſents, may be conſidered in two points of view. With reſpect to literature and the arts, it connects the age of Pericles with that of Alexander. My Scythian has converſed with a number of Athenians, who had been intimately acquainted with Sophocles, Euripides, Ariſtophanes, Thucydides, Socrates, Zeuxis, and Parrhaſius. I have mentioned ſome of the celebrated writers who were known to him. He has ſeen the maſterly productions of Praxiteles, Euphranor, and Pamphilus, make their appearance,

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appearance, as alſo the firſt eſſays of Apelles and Protogenes; and in one of the latter years of his ſtay in Greece Epicurus and Menander were born.

Under the ſecond point of view, this epocha is not leſs remarkable. Anacharſis was a witneſs to the revolution which changed the face of Greece, and which, ſome time after, deſtroyed the empire of the Perſians. On his arrival, he found the youth Philip with Epaminondas: he afterwards beheld him aſcend the throne of Macedon; diſplay, in his conteſts with the Greeks, during two and twenty years, all the reſources of his genius; and, at length, compel thoſe haughty republicans to ſubmit to his power.

I have choſen to write a narrative of travels rather than a hiſtory, becauſe in ſuch a narrative all is ſcenery and action; and becauſe circumſtantial details may be entered into which are not permitted to the hiſtorian. Theſe details, when they have relation to manners and

 cuſtoms,

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cuſtoms, are often only indicated by ancient authors, and have often given occaſion to different opinions among modern critics. I have examined and diſcuſſed them all before I have made uſe of them; I have even, on a reviſal, ſuppreſſed a great part of them, and ought perhaps to have ſuppreſſed ſtill more.

I began this work in the year 1757, and, ſince that time, have never intermitted my labours to complete it *. I ſhould not have undertaken it if, leſs captivated by the beauty of the ſubject, I had conſulted my abilities more than my courage.

The table which follows this advertiſement, will ſhew the chronological order which I have obſerved.

* This was written about the latter end of 1788, when the original was publiſhed.

CHRONO-

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CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

OF THE

TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS.

Bef. Chriſt.

CHAP. I, Anacharſis departs from Scythia, in April of the Year 363

CHAP. VI. After having made ſome ſtay at Byzantium, Leſbos, and Thebes, he arrives at Athens, March 13, 362

CHAP. IX. He goes to Corinth, and returns to Athens, April 1 of the ſame year

CHAP. XII. &c. He deſcribes the city of Athens, and gives the reſult of his enquiries relative to the government, manners, and religion of the Athenians ſame year

CHAP. XXII. He ſets out for Phocis, April, 361

CHAP. XXIII. &c. He returns to Athens, and, after having related ſeveral events that had paſſed from the year 361 to the year 357, he treats of ſeveral particulars relative to the cuſtoms of the Athenians, the hiſtory of the ſciences, &c.

CHAP. XXXIV. &c. He departs for Bœotia, and the northern provinces of Greece 357

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Bef. Christ

CHAP. XXXVII. He passes the winter between 357 and 356 at Athens, whence he proceeds to the southern provinces of Greece; March, 356

CHAP. XXXVIII. He is present at the celebration of the Olympic games, July, same year

CHAP. LIV. &c. He returns to Athens, where he continues his usual researches

CHAP. LX. He relates the remarkable events that happened in Greece and Sicily, from the year 357 to the year 354

CHAP. LXI. He sets out for Egypt and Persia 354

During his absence, which continues eleven years, he receives several letters from Athens, which bring him information relative to the affairs of Greece, the enterprizes of Philip, and various interesting facts.

CHAP. LXII. On his return from Persia, he finds, at Mitylene, Aristotle, who communicates to him his Treatise on Government, of which Anacharsis makes an abridgment 343

CHAP. LXIII. &c. He returns to Athens, where he employs himself in his usual researches same year

CHAP. LXXII. &c. He makes a voyage to the coast of Asia, and several of the islands of the Ægean sea 342

CHAP. LXXVI. He is present at the celebration of the festivals of Delos 341

CHAP. LXXX. He returns to Athens, and continues his enquiries.

CHAP. LXXXII. After the battle of Chæronea, he returns to Scythia 337

TRAVELS

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TRAVELS IN GREECE.

INTRODUCTION.

IF we may credit ancient traditions, the firſt inhabitants of Greece had no other dwellings than profound caverns, which they only quitted to diſpute with the beaſts of the field their coarſe and frequently noxious aliments [a]. United at length under daring chiefs, they found their knowledge, their wants, and their misfortunes increaſe. A ſenſe of their weakneſs had rendered them wretched, they became really ſo from the

[a] Plat. in Prot. vol. i. p. 322. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 8. 21. Pauſ. lib. 8, c. 1, p. 599. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. lib. 2, ch. 10.

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perception of their powers. War commenced; violent paſſions were enkindled; and terrible was the deſtruction which enſued. Torrents of blood were poured forth to ſecure the poſſeſſion of a country. The victors devoured the vanquiſhed; death hung over every head, and vengeance filled every heart [b].

But whether it be that man at length wearies of his ferocity, or that the climate of Greece, ſooner or later, ſoftens the character of its inhabitants, various hordes of ſavages received with open arms the legiſlators who laboured to civilize them. Theſe legiſlators were Egyptians, who had lately arrived on the coaſts of Argolis. Repairing thither in ſearch of an aſylum, they founded an empire [c]; and it was doubtleſs a beautiful and intereſting ſcene to behold ſavage and barbarous tribes approach, with trembling, the foreign colony; admire their peaceful labours;

[b] Euripid. in Siſyph. Fragm. p. 492. Moſch. ap. Stob. Ecl. Phyſ. lib. 1, p. 18. Athen. lib. 14, p. 660. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhet. lib. 2, p. 295. Cicer. de Invent. l. 1, ch. 2, t. i. p. 24. Id. Orat. pro Sext. ch. 42, t. vi. p. 38. Horat. Sat. lib. 1, ſat. 3, v. 99.

[c] Caſt. apud Euſeb. Chron. lib. 1, p. 11. Syncell. p. 64. 124.

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fell their foreſts, as ancient as the world; diſcover, under their very feet, a ſoil before unknown, and render it productive; ſpread themſelves, with their flocks, over the plains; and ultimately paſs their tranquil and bliſsful days in that peace and ſerenity which have beſtowed on thoſe remote periods the name of the GOLDEN AGE.

This revolution commenced under Inachus [d], who brought into Greece the firſt Egyptian colony [e], and continued under his ſon Phoroneus [f]. In a ſhort ſpace of time, the face of Argolis, Arcadia, and the adjacent countries, was entirely changed [g].

About three centuries after, Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus arrived [h]; the firſt in Attica, the ſecond in Bœotia, and the third in Argolis. With them they brought new colonies of Egyptians and Phœnicians. Induſtry and the arts now paſſed the bounda-

[d] In 1970 before Chriſt.

[e] Freret, Def. de la Chronol. p. 275.

[f] Pauſan. lib. 2, chap. 15, p. 145. Clem. Alexand. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 84. Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 131.

[g] Pauſan. lib. 8, p. 601.

[h] Cecrops, in 1657 before J. C. Cadmus, in 1594. Danaus, in 1586.

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ries of the Peloponneſus; and their progreſs, if we may ſo ſpeak, added new races of men to the human ſpecies.

Nevertheleſs, a part of the ſavages had retired into the mountains, or towards the northern regions of Greece. They attacked theſe riſing ſocieties; which, oppoſing valour to ferocity, brought them to receive, and render obedience to, their laws; or compelled them to fly to other climates, in ſearch of a wretched and fatal independence.

The reign of Phoroneus is the moſt ancient epocha of the hiſtory of the Greeks [i], as that of Cecrops is of the hiſtory of the Athenians. Since the reign of this latter prince, there is a ſpace of twelve hundred and fifty years, which may be divided into two intervals; the one extending to the firſt Olympiad; the other terminating with the taking of Athens by the Lacedæmonians [k]. I ſhall now proceed to relate the principal events that have occurred in both theſe pe-

[i] Plat. in Tim. tom. iii. p. 22. Clem. Alex. t. i. p. 380. Plin. lib. 1, cap. 56, tom. i. p. 473.

[k] Cecrops, in 1657. Firſt Olympiad, in 776. Taking of Athens, in 404.

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riods, chiefly beſtowing my attention on thoſe which reſpect the Athenians; and I think it proper here to apprize the reader, that, under the former, the hiſtorical facts and fictions of fable, equally neceſſary to be known in order to underſtand the religion, the cuſtoms, and monuments of Greece, will be indiſcriminately blended in my narrative, as they now are in all our ancient traditions. Perhaps too my ſtyle may be found tinctured with that of the authors I have conſulted. When we wander in the land of fiction, it is difficult not occaſionally to borrow its language.

FIRST PART.

THE colony of Cecrops derived its origin from the city of Saïs in Egypt [1]. The adventurers who compoſed it had quitted the happy banks of the Nile, to withdraw themſelves from the tyranny of an inexora-

[1] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 21. Theopomp. ap. Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 10, No. 10. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 24.

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ble conqueror; and, after a tedious voyage, reached the ſhores of Attica, at all times inhabited by a people whom the fierce nations of Greece had diſdained to bring under the yoke. Their ſterile fields offered no plunder, nor could their weakneſs inſpire any dread [m]. Habituated to the enjoyments of peace, free without knowing the value of independence, rude rather than barbarous, they muſt have united themſelves without difficulty to ſtrangers inſtructed by misfortune. In a ſhort time the Egyptians and the inhabitants of Attica formed but one people: but the former aſſumed over the latter that aſcendancy, which ſooner or later invariably attends ſuperiority of knowledge; and Cecrops, placed at the head of the united people, conceived the noble deſign of beſtowing happineſs on his adopted country.

The ancient poſſeſſors of theſe lands yearly ſaw a regular ſucceſſion of the wild fruits of the oak, and relied on nature for a reproduction which ſecured their annual ſubſiſtence. Cecrops preſented them with a milder

[m] Thucydid. lib. 1, cap. 2. Iſocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 130.

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nutriment, and taught them to perpetuate it. Various ſpecies of grain were entruſted to the earth [n]. The olive was brought from Egypt into Attica [o]. Trees hitherto unknown extended their branches laden with fruit over rich harveſts. The inhabitant of Attica, led by the example of the Egyptians, expert in agriculture, redoubled his efforts, and inured himſelf to fatigue; but he was not yet ſtimulated by hopes ſufficiently powerful to mitigate his pains, and animate him in his labours.

Marriage was ſubjected to laws [p]; and theſe regulations, the ſources of a new order of virtues and enjoyments, ſufficiently evinced the advantages of decency, the attractions of modeſty and the deſire of pleaſing; the happineſs of loving, and the neceſſity of conſtancy in love. The father heard the ſecret voice of nature in the receſſes of his heart; he heard it in the heart

[n] Schol. Tzetz. ad Heſiod. Oper. v. 32. Cic. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 25, t. iii. p. 158.

[o] Syncell. p. 153.

[p] Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 6. Athen. lib. 13, p. 555. Suid. in Promet. Nonn. Dionyſ. l. 41, v. 386. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 773.

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of his ſpouſe and of his children. He ſurpriſed himſelf ſhedding tears, no longer wrung from him by ſuffering; and learnt to eſteem himſelf by the exertion of ſenſibility. Families ſoon became connected by alliances or mutual wants, and ties innumerable united every member of ſociety. The benefits they enjoyed were no longer confined to themſelves; nor the ſufferings from which they were exempted foreign to their feelings.

Other motives facilitated the practice of moral and religious duties. The firſt Greeks offered their homage to gods whoſe names they knew not; and who, too far removed from mortals, and reſerving all their power to regulate the progreſs of the univerſe, only made known ſome few of their ſupreme commands, on rare occaſions, in the little diſtrict of Dodona in Epirus [q]. The foreign colonies beſtowed on theſe deities the names they were known by in Egypt, in Lybia [r], and Phœnicia; attributing to each of them a limited empire, and peculiar functions: the city of Argos was particularly conſecrated to

[q] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 52. [r] Id. lib. 2, cap. 50.

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Juno [s]; that of Athens to Minerva [t]; that of Thebes to Bacchus [u]. By this ſlight addition to the religious worſhip of the country, the gods ſeemed to become more immediately connected with Greece, and to ſhare its provinces among them. The people believed them more acceſſible, by ſuppoſing them leſs powerful, and leſs occupied. They found the gods preſent with them on every ſide; and, certain henceforward of ſecuring their attention, they conceived a more elevated idea of human nature.

Cecrops multiplied the objects of public veneration. He invoked the ſovereign of the gods under the title of the Moſt High [w]. He erected numerous temples and altars; but prohibited the ſhedding of the blood of victims, whether to preſerve the animals deſtined to agriculture, or to inſpire his ſubjects with horror for a barbarous ſcene exhibited

[s] Hygin. Fab. 143. Lact. ad Stat. Theb. l. 1, v. 541; l. 4, v. 589.

[t] Apollod. lib. 3, p. 237. Syncell. p. 153.

[u] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 49. Freret, Def. de la Chronologie, p. 319.

[w] Meurſ. de Reg. Athen. lib. 1, cap. 9.

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in Arcadia [x]. A man, a king, the ferocious Lycaon, had recently ſacrificed an infant to thoſe gods, whom we cannot but offend when we violate the dictates of nature. The homage offered them by Cecrops was more worthy of their benignity: his offerings were ears of corn or grain, the firſt fruits of the harveſts with which they enriched Attica; and cakes, the tribute of that induſtry, the value of which his ſubjects now began to know.

In all the inſtitutions of Cecrops, wiſdom and humanity ſhone conſpicuous. The end of ſome was to procure his ſubjects a tranquil life, and to enſure to them honour and veneration, even beyond the grave. He ordained that they ſhould depoſit their mortal remains in the boſom of the common mother of all mankind, and that the earth that covered them ſhould immediately be ſown, that the huſbandman might not be deprived of any portion of the ſoil [y]. The relations of the deceaſed, with their heads decorated

[x] Pauſanias, lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 600.

[y] Cic. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 25, t. iii. p. 158.

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with a crown, gave a funeral repaſt; at which, without liſtening to the voice of flattery or friendſhip, the memory of the virtuous man was honoured, and a ſtigma fixed upon the wicked. By this inſtructive cuſtom the people were taught, that the man who aſpired to preſerve, after his death, a ſecond life in the public eſteem, muſt at leaſt wiſh to leave a reputation for which his children might have no cauſe to bluſh.

The ſame wiſdom may be obſerved in the inſtitution of a tribunal which appears to have been erected towards the latter years of the reign of this prince, or at the beginning of that of his ſucceſſor [z]; I mean the ſenate of Areopagus, which from its firſt eſtabliſhment never pronounced a judgment that gave juſt occaſion for complaint [a], and more than any thing contributed to give the firſt ideas of juſtice to the Greeks [b].

Had Cecrops been the author of theſe memorable inſtitutions, and of various others which he employed to inſtruct and civilize

[z] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 3, p. 348.
[a] Demoſth. in Ariſtoc. p. 735.
[b] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, cap. 38.

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the Athenians, he would have been the firſt of legiſlators, and the greateſt of mortals; but they were the work of a whole nation, attentive to bring them to perfection for a long ſeries of ages. They were brought by him from Egypt; and the effect they produced was ſo ſpeedy, that Attica was ſoon peopled by twenty thouſand inhabitants [c], who were divided into four tribes [d].

So rapid a progreſs attracted the attention of the hordes who lived only by rapine. Pirates landed on the coaſts of Attica; while the Bœotians ravaged the frontiers [e], and ſpread terror on every ſide. Cecrops availed himſelf of theſe inroads to induce his ſubjects to collect their habitations, then ſcattered over the country, and to ſecure them by a wall againſt the depredations they had lately ſuffered. The foundations of Athens were laid upon the hill where the citadel is ſtill to be ſeen [f]. Eleven other towns were preſently

[c] Philoc. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. od. 9, v. 68.

[d] Steph. in Ἀκτ. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, ſect. 109. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 423.

[e] Philoch. apud Strab. lib. 9, p. 397.

[f] Plin. lib. 7, cap. 56. t. i. p. 413. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 423. Etymol. Magn. in Ἐρεχθ.

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built in different places; and the inhabitants, ſeized with conſternation, ſacrificed what they muſt have held moſt dear, without reluctance. They renounced the freedom of the rural life [g], and ſhut themſelves up within walls; which they would have conſidered as the abode of ſlavery, had they not been compelled to have recourſe to them as the aſylum of weakneſs. Protected by their ramparts, they were the firſt of the Greeks to lay down, during peace, thoſe deſtructive arms, which formerly they had never quitted [h].

Cecrops died after a reign of fifty years [i]. He had eſpouſed the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Attica [k], by whom he had a ſon, whoſe death he lived to ſee; and three daughters, to whom the Athenians afterwards decreed divine honours [l]. His tomb is ſtill preſerved in the temple of Mi-

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[g] Philoch. apud Strab. lib. 9, p. 397.

[h] Thucydid. lib. 1, cap. 6.

[i] Suid. in Promet.

[k] Apollodor. lib. 3, p. 239.

[l] Herod. lib. 8, cap. 53. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 18. 27. Etymol. in Ἀγλαύρ.

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nerva[m]; and his memory perpetuated, in indelible characters, in the conſtellation of Aquarius, which has been conſecrated to him[n].

After Cecrops, reigned ſeventeen princes, during the ſpace of about five hundred and ſixty-five years, the laſt of whom was Codrus.

The greateſt part of theſe merit not the attention of poſterity; and, in fact, what matters it that ſome of them were deprived by their ſucceſſors of the dignity they had uſurped, and that the names of others have eſcaped by chance from oblivion? Let us ſeek, in the hiſtory of their reigns, thoſe peculiarities which muſt have had an influence on the character of the nation, or have contributed to its happineſs.

Under the reigns of Cecrops and of his ſucceſſor Cranaus, the inhabitants of Attica enjoyed an almoſt continual peace. Accuſtomed to the ſweets and obligations of ſociety, they ſtudied their duties in their wants, and formed their manners from example.

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[m] Antioch. ap. Clem. Alexand. t. i. p. 39.

[n] Hygin. Poet. Aſtronom. lib. 2, cap. 29.

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Their knowledge, increaſed by ſuch intimate connections, was ſtill more improved by commerce with the adjoining nations. Some years after Cecrops, the light of the Eaſt penetrated into Bœotia. Cadmus, at the head of a Phœnician colony, brought thither the moſt ſublime of all the arts—that of preſerving, by a few ſimple lines, the fugitive ſounds of ſpeech, and the moſt ſubtle operations of the mind [o]. The invention of letters, introduced into Attica, was there ſoon after employed to preſerve the memory of remarkable events.

We cannot pretend to fix with any degree of preciſion the time in which other arts were diſcovered, and can only build on traditions. Under the reign of Erichthonius, the colony of Cecrops accuſtomed horſes, already docile to the bit, to draw wheel carriages [p]; and profited by the labour of bees, which uſeful race of inſects they care-

[o] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 58. Lucan. lib. 3, v. 220. Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 1, cap. 20.

[p] Plin. lib. 7, cap. 56, t. i. p. 416. Ælian. Hiſt. Var. lib. 3, cap. 38. Ariſtid. in Minerv. Orat. t. i. p. 22. Virgil. Georg. lib. 3, v. 113.

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fully preſerved on mount Hymettus [q]. Under Pandion, they made new progreſs in agriculture [r]; but a long drought having deſtroyed the hopes of the huſbandman, the harveſts of Egypt ſupplied the wants of the colony [s], which thence contracted a taſte for commerce. Erechtheus, his ſucceſſor, rendered his reign illuſtrious by uſeful inſtitutions [t]; and the Athenians dedicated a temple to him after his death [u].

Theſe ſucceſſive diſcoveries redoubled the activity of the people; and, by procuring them abundance, prepared the way for their corruption: for, no ſooner did they perceive that the enjoyments of life may be increaſed, by calling in the aid of art to nature, than the awakened paſſions hurried them eagerly towards this new image of happineſs. Blind imitation, that powerful motive of the greater part of human actions, and which at firſt

[q] Columell. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 9, cap. 2.

[r] Meurſ. de Regib. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 2.

[s] Diodor. Sic. lib. 1, p. 25.

[t] Diodor. ibid. Meurſius, ibid. cap. 7.

[u] Herod. lib. 8, cap. 55. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3, cap. 19, t. ii. p. 503. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 26, p. 62.

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had only excited a gentle and beneficent emulation, ſoon produced the love of diſtinctions, the deſire of preference, jealouſy and hatred. The principal citizens, acting on theſe various ſprings at their pleaſure, filled the ſtate with diſſenſions, and directed their ambitious views to the throne. Amphictyon obliged Cranaus to abdicate the ſovereignty, and was himſelf compelled to ſurrender his crown to Erichthonius [x].

In proportion as the kingdom of Athens acquired ſtrength, thoſe of Argos, Arcadia, Lacedæmon, Corinth, Sicyon, Thebes, Theſſaly, and Epirus, were ſeen gradually to become more powerful, and in various revolutions act their part on the ſtage of the world.

In the mean time, ancient barbariſm again made its appearance, in contempt of laws and manners [y]. Men of extraordinary bodily ſtrength aroſe at intervals, who infeſted the highways to attack paſſengers, and cruel

[x] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 7.
[y] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 3.

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princes who inflicted lingering and painful punishments on the innocent. But nature, which incessantly balances evil with good, to destroy these scourges, gave birth to men still stronger than the former, no less powerful than the latter, and more just than either. These travelled over Greece, and freed it from the violence both of kings and individuals: they appeared to the Greeks as beings of a superior order; and that infant people, no less extravagant in their gratitude than in their fears, rewarded the least exploits with so much glory, that the honour of protecting them became the first ambition of noble minds.

This kind of heroism, unknown to succeeding ages, and strange to other nations, yet the best adapted to conciliate the motives of pride with the interest of humanity, shone forth in every part of Greece, and exercised itself in a thousand various ways. Did some ferocious beast, issuing from the recesses of the woods, spread terror through the plains, the hero of the district held it to be his duty to triumph over the monster, in view of a

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people who ſtill conſidered ſtrength as the firſt of qualities, and courage as the ſublimeſt virtue. Sovereigns themſelves, flattered with annexing to their titles the pre-eminence of a merit held in the higheſt eſtimation in their age, engaged in combats, which, by giving proof of their bravery, ſeemed to add legitimacy to their power. But preſently they became enamoured of the dangers they had heretofore contented themſelves with not dreading. They went to court them at a diſtance, or promoted them around their perſons; and as virtues expoſed to praiſes are but too liable to become enfeebled, their bravery, degenerating into temerity, changed its object no leſs than its character. Their enterpriſes were no longer directed by the good of the people; every thing was ſacrificed to violent paſſions, and impunity redoubled their licentiouſneſs. The hand which had lately dragged a tyrant from his throne, deſpoiled a juſt prince of the wealth he had inherited from his fathers, or raviſhed from him a queen diſtinguiſhed for her beauty. The hiſtory of

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the ancient heroes is ſullied by theſe diſgraceful ſtains.

A number of theſe adventurous chiefs, known by the name of Argonauts*, formed the project of making a voyage to a diſtant country, to gain poſſeſſion of the treaſures of Æëtes, king of Colchis[a]. This could not be effected but by traverſing unknown ſeas, and perpetually braving new dangers: but having already ſignalized themſelves individually by ſo many heroic achievements, they concluded, and were juſtified by the event, that by forming a communion of intereſts they ſhould prove invincible. Amongſt theſe heroes, we find Jaſon, who ſeduced and carried off Medea, the daughter of Æëtes, but loſt, during his abſence, the throne of Theſſaly, to which his birth entitled him; Caſtor and Pollux, ſons of Tyndarus, king of Sparta, celebrated for their valour, and ſtill more celebrated for a fraternal union

* Toward the year 1360 before J. C.

[a] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 12, v. 70. Schol. ibid. Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 145. Diodor. Sic. l. 4, p. 245. Apollod. l. 1, p. 53. Apollon. Argon. &c.

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conſecrated by altars; Peleus, king of Phthiotis, who would have been conſidered as a great man, had not his ſon Achilles been ſtill greater than himſelf; the poet Orpheus, who ſhared thoſe labours he alleviated by his ſongs; and, laſtly, Hercules, the moſt illuſtrious of mortals, and firſt of the demi-gods [x].

The whole earth is filled with the renown of the name, and the monuments of the glory of the laſt. He was deſcended from the kings of Argos: fable indeed tells us he was the ſon of Jupiter and Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon; that the Nemean lion [y], the bull of Crete, the wild boar of Erymanthus, the Lernæan hydra, and monſters ſtill more ferocious, fell beneath his arm. He alſo was the conqueror of Buſiris, king of Egypt, who baſely polluted his hands with the blood of ſtrangers; Antæus of Libya, who only delayed their deaths till he had vanquiſhed them in wreſtling; the giants of Sicily, the Centaurs of Theſſaly, and all the robbers of the earth, whoſe limits he drove backward

[x] Diod. lib. 4, p. 223. Apollon. Argon. lib. 1, p. 494.
[y] Apollod. lib. 2, p. 109, &c.

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to the weſt [z], as Bacchus had fixed them to the eaſt: he is ſaid likewiſe to have opened mountains to unite nations; to have dug ſtraits to intermingle ſeas; to have triumphed over hell, and to have given victory to the gods in their combats with the giants.

His hiſtory is a ſeries of prodigies, or rather it is the hiſtory of all thoſe who have borne the ſame name, and undergone the ſame labours with himſelf [a]. Tradition has magnified their exploits; and by uniting them in one man, as well as by aſcribing to him alone all the great enterpriſes the authors of which are unknown, has beſtowed on him a ſplendour that ſeems to reflect luſtre on the human ſpecies. For the Hercules men adored is a phantom of greatneſs, elevated between earth and heaven, as it were to fill up the interval. The real Hercules differed from other men only by his ſtrength, and reſembled the gods of the Greeks only by his infirmities: the good and evil he per-

[z] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 109.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 3, p. 208. Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 3, cap. 16, t. ii. p. 500. Tacit. Ann. lib. 2, cap. 60.

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formed in his frequent expeditions obtained him a celebrity during his life, which gave Greece a new defender in the perſon of Theſeus.

This prince was the ſon of Ægeus, king of Athens, and of Æthra, daughter of the ſage Pittheus, who reigned at Trœzene. He was educated in that city, where the fame of the illuſtrious deeds of Hercules filled him with emulation; he liſtened to the recital of them with an ardour the more anxious, as he was united to that hero by the ties of conſanguinity; and his impatient ſoul panted to overleap the barriers by which he was confined [b]. A ſpacious field now opened to his wiſhes. Robbers once more began to make their appearance; and monſters again iſſued from their foreſts: for Hercules was in Lydia.

To gratify this ardent courage, Æthra diſcovers to her ſon the ſecret of his birth. She conducts him to an enormous rock, which ſhe commands him to raiſe [c]: he there finds a ſword and other tokens of his birth,

[b] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 3.
[c] Plut. ibid. et Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 27.

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by which he was one day to be recognized by his father. Furniſhed with theſe, he takes the road of Athens; in vain do his mother and his grandfather perſuade him to go thither by ſea; the counſels of prudence offend him no leſs than the ſuggeſtions of timidity: he prefers the path of danger and of glory, and quickly arrives at the haunts of Sinis [d]. It was the practice of this cruel man to faſten thoſe whom he had overcome to the branches of trees, which being forcibly bent down, ſprang up, laden with the bleeding limbs of the unhappy ſufferers. Further on, Sciron had taken poſſeſſion of a narrow path over a mountain, whence he precipitated travellers into the ſea. Still further, Procruſtes extended them on a bed, the length of which muſt be the exact meaſure of their bodies, which he ſhortened or lengthened by dreadful torments [e]. Theſeus attacked theſe barbarous robbers, and

[d] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 4, p. 262. Apollod. lib. 3, p. 255.

[e] Plut. ibid. p. 5. Diod. lib. 4, p. 262, &c.

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put them to death by the cruelties they had themſelves invented.

After multiplied conflicts and ſucceſſes, he arrived at his father's court, at that time diſtracted by violent diſſenſions, which threatened the ſovereign. The Pallantides, a powerful family of Athens [f], ſaw with regret the ſceptre in the hands of an old man, who, as they alleged, had neither the right nor the power to wield it: with their contempt, they openly expreſſed their hope of his approaching death, and their deſire of participating in his ſpoils. The preſence of Theſeus diſconcerted their projects; and leſt Ægeus, by adopting this ſtranger, ſhould find an avenger and legitimate heir, they infuſed into him all the motives of miſtruſt, of which a weak mind is ſuſceptible: but when on the point of immolating his ſon, Ægeus recognized him, and made him known to his people. The Pallantides revolt; Theſeus diſperſes them [g], and inſtantly flies to the plains of Marathon, which had

[f] Plut. t. i. p. 5.
[g] Plut. ibid. p. 6. Pauſan. lib. 1, c. 38, p. 70.

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been for ſome years ravaged by a wild bull [h]. He attacked, and having conquered and bound the ferocious animal, exhibited him in triumph to the Athenians, no leſs aſtoniſhed at the ſucceſs than terrified at the dangers of the combat.

Another event ſoon raiſed their admiration to its utmoſt height. Minos, king of Crete, accuſed them of having put to death his ſon Androgeus, and compelled them by force to deliver him, at ſtated intervals *, a certain number of youths and maidens [i]. Theſe were to be choſen by lot, and their deſtiny was death or ſlavery. It was now the third time that the pledges of their affection were to be torn from their unhappy parents. All Athens was in tears, but Theſeus revived her hopes. He undertook to free the city from this odious tribute; and, to accompliſh the noble project, voluntarily enrolled himſelf in the number of the victims, and embarked for Crete.

[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 4, p. 262. Plut. t. i. p. 6.

* Every year, according to Apollodorus, lib. 3, p. 253; every ſeventh year, according to Diodorus, lib. 4, p. 263; every ninth year, as Plutarch tells us, in Theſ. t. i. p. 6.

[i] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 264. Plut. ibid.

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The Athenians relate, that it was the cruel practice of Minos to ſhut up his tributary victims, the moment he received them, in a labyrinth, where they were ſoon after devoured by the minotaur, a monſter half a man and half a bull, the offspring of the infamous amours of Paſiphaë, queen of Crete[k]; they add, that Theſeus, having ſlain the minotaur, brought back the young Athenians, and was accompanied, on his return, by Ariadne, daughter of Minos, who aſſiſted him in eſcaping from the labyrinth, and whom he abandoned on the ſhores of Naxos. The Cretans, on the contrary, allege, that the Athenian hoſtages were deſtined to the victors in the celebrated games in honour of Androgeus; that Theſeus, having obtained permiſſion to enter the liſts, overcame Taurus, general of the troops of Minos, and that this prince had the generoſity to do juſtice to his valour, and pardon the Athenians.

The teſtimony of the Cretans is more conformable to the character of a prince,

[k] Iſocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii, p. 127. Plut. t. i. p. 6. Apollod. lib. 3, p. 253, et alii.

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renowned for his juſtice and his wiſdom: the Athenian account poſſibly originates in their eternal hatred of the conquerors by whom they have been humbled[l]; but both theſe opinions equally prove, that Theſeus delivered his nation from a ſhameful ſervitude; and that, by expoſing his life, he merited the throne left vacant by the death of Ægeus.

Scarcely had he aſcended it, before he formed the plan of ſetting bounds to his authority, and eſtabliſhing a more regular and ſtable form of government[m]. The twelve cities of Attica, founded by Cecrops, were become ſo many republics, each of which had its particular magiſtrates and chiefs almoſt independent[n], whoſe intereſts claſhing continually, produced frequent wars: and though imminent dangers ſometimes obliged them to have recourſe to the protection of the ſovereign, the ſucceeding calm ſoon awakened their ancient jealou-

[l] Plut. t. i. p. 7.
[m] Demoſthen. in Neær. p. 873. Iſocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 130. Plut. in Theſ. p. 10.
[n] Thucydid. lib. 2, cap. 15.

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ſies. The royal authority fluctuating between deſpotiſm and degradation, alternately inſpired terror or contempt; and the people, by the vice of a conſtitution, the nature of which was not exactly underſtood either by prince or ſubjects, had no means whatever to defend themſelves againſt the extremity of ſlavery, or the exceſs of licentiouſneſs.

Theſeus formed his plan; and, ſuperior even to minute obſtacles, took upon himſelf its execution in detail. He traverſed the different diſtricts of Attica, and endeavoured every where to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the people, who with ardour received a project which ſeemed to reſtore to them their primitive liberty; but the wealthier claſs, fearing to loſe the authority they had uſurped, and apprehenſive of ſeeing a kind of equality eſtabliſhed between all ranks of citizens, murmured at an innovation which diminiſhed the royal prerogative: not daring, however, openly to oppoſe the will of a prince, who was endeavouring to obtain by perſuaſion what he might exact by

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force, they conſented, but with a ſecret determination to proteſt againſt the meaſure when circumſtances might be more favourable.

It was now determined that Athens ſhould be the metropolis and centre of the ſtate; that the ſenates of the cities ſhould be aboliſhed; that the legiſlative power ſhould reſide in the general aſſembly of the nation, divided into three claſſes, the nobles, the huſbandmen, and the artificers; that the firſt magiſtrates, choſen out of the former, ſhould have the ſuperintendence of the ſacred rites, and be the interpreters of the laws; that the different orders of citizens ſhould form a mutual balance, the firſt having in its favour the ſplendour of dignities, the ſecond the importance of ſervices, and the third the ſuperiority of number *. It was determined, in fine, that Theſeus, placed at the head of the republic, ſhould be the defender of the laws it might enact, and the general of the troops deſtined to its defence.

By theſe diſpoſitions the government of

* Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 11.

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Athens became essentially democratic[p], and, harmonizing happily with the genius of the Athenians, maintained that form, notwithstanding the alterations it underwent in the time of Pisistratus[q]. Theseus instituted a solemn festival, the ceremonies of which preserve the memory of the union of the different people of Attica[r]. He erected tribunals for the magistrates; he enlarged the capital, and embellished it as far as the imperfection of the arts at that time would permit. Strangers, invited to become citizens, flocked thither from all parts, and were incorporated with the ancient inhabitants[s]. He added the territory of Megara to the country; he placed a column on the isthmus of Corinth, as a boundary between Attica and Peloponnesus[t], and revived, near this pillar, the Isthmian games, in imitation of those lately instituted by Hercules at Olympia.

[p] Demosth. in Neær. p. 873. Eurip. in Suppl. v. 404.
[q] Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 9.
[r] Thucydid. lib. 2, c. 15. Plut. t. i. p. 11. Steph. in Athen.
[s] Plut. ibid. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 2. Schol. ibid.
[t] Plut. ibid. Strab. lib. 9, p. 392.

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Every thing now ſeemed favourable to his views: he governed a free people [w], retained in obedience by his moderation and his bounties; he dictated laws of peace and humanity to the neighbouring nations [x], and enjoyed a foretaſte of that profound veneration with which ſucceeding ages gradually honour the memory of great men.

Still, however, was he not equal to the complete accompliſhment of his glorious undertaking. He grew weary of the peaceful homage he received, and of the mild virtues which were its ſource. Two circumſtances eſpecially contributed to increaſe his diſguſt. His emulation, which continually watched the renowned achievements of Hercules [y], was again excited by the new exploits with which that hero had ſignalized his return into Greece. On the other ſide, Pirithous, ſon of Ixion, and ſovereign of part of Theſſaly, either to make trial of the courage of Theſeus, or to induce

[w] Iſocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 131.
[x] Pauſan. lib. 1, c. 39, p. 94. Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 14.
[y] Diodor. lib. 4, p. 262. Iſocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 125.

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him to quit his tranquil courſe of life, conceived a project ſuitable to the genius of the ancient heroes. He carried off from the plains of Marathon the flocks of the king of Athens[z]; and when Theſeus appeared to revenge the injury, Pirithoüs ſeemed ſtruck with a ſecret admiration, and offering him his hand in ſign of peace, "Be my judge," ſaid he, "what ſatisfaction "do you demand?"—"That," ſaid Theſeus, "of uniting you with me by the fellowſhip "of arms." On theſe words they ſwore an indiſſoluble alliance[a], and joined in forming plans for new and illuſtrious enterpriſes.

Hercules, Theſeus, and Pirithoüs, friends and generous rivals, engaged in the ſame purſuit of glory, ſeeking only for dangers and for victory, appalling guilt, and making innocence tremble, at that time attracted the attention of all Greece. Sometimes attendant on the former, at others followed

[z] Plut. in. Theſ. t. i. p. 14.
[a] Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 1664. Pauſan, lib. 10, cap. 29, p. 870.

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by the latter, and ſometimes mingling in the crowd of heroes, Theſeus was called on to ſhare in all theſe illuſtrious adventures. He is ſaid to have triumphed over the Amazons, both on the banks of the Thermodon in Aſia, and in the plains of Attica [b]; he was preſent at the chace of the enormous wild boar of Calydon, to deſtroy which Meleager, ſon of the king of that city, aſſembled the moſt courageous princes of his time [c]; he ſignalized himſelf againſt the Centaurs of Theſſaly, thoſe daring men, who having firſt accuſtomed themſelves to fight on horſeback, were better enabled to inflict or to ſhun the ſtroke of death [d].

While engaged in ſo many adventures, glorious, it is true, but wholly unprofitable to his people, he aſſociated with Pirithoüs, to carry off the princeſſes of Sparta and Epirus, both diſtinguiſhed by a beauty which gave them immortal celebrity, but

[b] Iſocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 281. Plut. t. i. p. 12. Pauſan. lib. 1, c. 2 et 41.

[c] Plut. ibid. p. 13.

[d] Iſocr. in Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 126. Herodot. ap. Plut. in Theſ. p. 13.

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which was to each the ſource of fatal miſfortunes [e]: the one was that Helen, whoſe charms eventually produced ſuch ſtreams of blood and tears; the other, Proſerpine, daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Moloſſi.

They found Helen performing a dance in the temple of Diana; and tearing her from the midſt of her companions, eſcaped by flight from the chaſtiſement that threatened their ſtay in Lacedæmon, and awaited them at Epirus; for Aidoneus, apprized of their deſigns, delivered Pirithoüs over to be devoured by monſtrous dogs, and precipitated Theſeus into the horrors of a priſon, from which he was delivered only by the friendly aſſiduity of Hercules.

Returning to his kingdom, he found his family covered with diſgrace, and the city rent by factions. The queen, that Phædra whoſe name has ſo often reſounded on the ſtage of Athens, had conceived for Hippolytus, his ſon by Antiope, queen of the Amazons, a paſſion which ſhe herſelf con-

[e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 4, p. 265.

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demned, which inſpired the youthful prince with horror, and ſhortly terminated in the deſtruction of them both. At the ſame time the Pallantides, at the head of the principal citizens, endeavoured to ſeize on the ſovereign power, which they accuſed Theſeus of having enfeebled. The people had loſt, in the exerciſe of their newly acquired authority, all love of order, and every ſentiment of gratitude. To theſe vexations were added the arrival and complaints of Caſtor and Pollux, the brothers of Helen, who, before they had reſcued her from the cuſtody of thoſe to whom ſhe had been confided by Theſeus, had ravaged Attica [f], and excited the bittereſt murmurs againſt a king, who, ſacrificing every thing to his paſſions, abandoned the government of his ſtates to roam through diſtant countries in ſearch of diſgraceful adventures, the ſhame of which he was forced to expiate in chains.

In vain did Theſeus labour to remove theſe fatal impreſſions. His abſence, his

[f] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 73.

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achievements, his misfortunes were imputed to him as crimes; and when he attempted to employ force, he soon found that no creature is so feeble as a sovereign degraded in the eyes of his subjects.

In this extremity, uttering the bittereſt imprecations on the Athenians, he took refuge in the court of king Lycomedes, in the isle of Scyros[g], where he soon after ended his days *, either from the consequences of an accident, or the treachery of Lycomedes[h], desirous to acquire the friendship of Mneſtheus, his successor at Athens.

The actions of Theseus, and the impression they made on the minds of men during his youth, at the commencement of his reign, and at the end of his life, present to us successively the image of a hero, a king, and an adventurer; and, under these different points of view, he merited the admiration, the love, and the contempt of the Athenians.

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g Plut. in Thes. p. 16. Heracl. de Polit. Athen.
* Towards the year 1305 before Christ.
h Pausan. lib. 1, p. 41.

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They afterwards forgot his errors, and bluſhed at their rebellion [i]. Cimon, ſon of Miltiades, by order of the oracle, brought home his bones, and buried them within the walls of Athens [k]. Over his tomb a temple was erected, embelliſhed by the arts, and ſince become the aſylum of the wretched [l]. Various monuments retrace him to our eyes, and recall the memory of his reign. He is one of the genii who preſide over the days of every month [m], and one of the heroes honoured by feſtivals and ſacrifices [n]. Athens, in fine, regards him as the firſt author of her power, and prides herſelf in the title of the city of Theſeus.

The anger of the gods, which baniſhed him from his country, had long weighed heavily on the kingdom of Thebes. Cadmus had been driven from the throne erected by himſelf, Polydore torn to pieces by

[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 4, p. 265.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 1, p. 41. Plut. in Theſ. p. 17; in Cimon. p. 483.
[l] Diod. ibid. Plut. in Theſ. p. 17. Suid. et Heſych. in Theſ. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 627.
[m] Plut. in Theſ. p. 17. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 627.
[n] Plut. in Theſ. p. 17; in Cimon. p. 483.

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the Bacchanalian nymphs, Labdacus prematurely carried off by death, leaving only one ſon in the cradle, and ſurrounded by enemies. Such had been, from the foundation of this kingdom, the fate of the royal family, when Laïus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Labdacus, after twice loſing and recovering the crown, eſpouſed Epicaſte, or Jocaſta, daughter of Menœceus [o]; nuptials deſtined to be marked by the moſt horrible calamities. An oracle declared that the child who ſhould be born from this marriage ſhould be the murderer of his father, and the huſband of his mother. This child was born and condemned by the authors of his being to become the prey of wild beaſts. Diſcovered by his cries, or accident, in a lonely place, he was preſented to the queen of Corinth, who brought him up in her court under the name of Œdipus, and in quality of her adopted ſon [p].

Having attained manhood, and being

[o] Diod. lib. 4, p. 266. Pauſan. lib. 9, cap. 5, p. 721. Euripid. in Phœniſſ. v. 10.

[p] Euripid. in Phœniſſ. v. 30. Apollodor. lib. 3, p. 181.

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informed of the dangers to which he had been expoſed, he conſulted the gods, and their miniſters confirming by their anſwer the oracle which had preceded his birth [q], he was precipitated into the calamities he endeavoured to avoid. Reſolved to return no more to Corinth, which he conſidered as his native country, he took the road to Phocis, and in his way met, in a narrow path, an old man, who haughtily commanded him to leave the way open to him, endeavouring at the ſame time to compel him to obedience by force. This was Laïus: Œdipus repelled his attack, and laid him dead at his feet [r].

After this fatal accident, the kingdom of Thebes and the hand of Jocaſta were promiſed to the man who ſhould deliver the Thebans from the evils with which they were afflicted. Sphinx, a natural daughter of Laïus, aſſociating with a band of robbers, ravaged the plain, detained travellers by artful queſtions, and led them aſtray amongſt

[q] Apollodor. ibid. p. 183.
[r] Euripid. in Phœniſſ. v. 40. Diod. lib. 4, p. 266.

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the windings of Mount Phicion, to deliver them into the hands of her perfidious companions. Œdipus unravelled her ſnares, diſperſed the accomplices of her crimes, and, by gathering the fruit of his victory, fulfilled in all its extent the prediction of the oracle.

Inceſt triumphed on the earth, but Heaven haſtened to arreſt it in its courſe [s]. Diſcoveries hateful and horrid ſoon appalled the guilty couple. Jocaſta terminated her misfortunes by a violent death. Œdipus, according to ſome authors, tore out his eyes [t], and died in Attica, where Theſeus had granted him an aſylum. But other traditions ſay [u], he was condemned to ſupport the light of day, that he might behold thoſe places which had been the ſcenes of his crimes; and to retain life, that he might communicate it to children ſtill more guilty, and no leſs unfortunate than himſelf. Theſe were Eteocles, Polynices, Antigone, and Iſ-

[s] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 11. v. 273.
[t] Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. Apollodor. lib. 3, p. 185.
[u] Mem. de l'Academ. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. Hiſt. p. 146. Banier. Mytholog. t. iii. p. 367.

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mene, whom he had by Eurygania, his ſecond wife [x].

No ſooner were the two princes of an age to wield the ſceptre, than they confined Œdipus in the receſſes of his palace, and agreed alternately to guide the reins of government during a whole year [y]. Eteocles firſt aſcended that throne under which the threatening abyſs was ſtill open, and refuſed to reſign his power. Polynices repaired to the court of Adraſtus, king of Argos, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with powerful ſuccours [z].

Such was the origin of the firſt expedition in which the Greeks diſplayed ſome knowledge of the military art*. Hitherto Greece had only beheld bands of men, not ſoldiers, ſuddenly over-run a neighbouring country, and retire after committing a few hoſtilities

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[x] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 28, p. 69. Idem, lib. 9, c. 5, p. 722. Apollodor. lib. 3, p. 185.

[y] Diod. lib. 4, p. 267. Eurip. in Phœniſſ. v. 64. Apollodor. ibid.

[z] Diodor, ibid.

* The year 1329 before Chriſt.

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and tranſient acts of cruelty [a]. In the war of Thebes, projects were firſt ſeen to be concerted with prudence, and purſued with firmneſs: different nations then firſt aſſociated in one and the ſame camp, and were united under the ſame general, braving with equal courage the rigour of the ſeaſons, the tediouſneſs of a ſiege, and the perils of daily combats.

Adraſtus ſhared the command of the army with Polynices, whom he wiſhed to eſtabliſh on the throne of Thebes; the brave Tydeus, ſon of Œneas king of Ætolia; the impetuous Capaneus; Amphiaraus the ſoothſayer; Hippomedon, and Parthenopæus. Amongſt the followers of theſe warriors, all diſtinguiſhed by their birth and valour [b], appeared, in an inferior order of merit and of dignities, the principal inhabitants of Meſſenia, Arcadia, and Argolis [c].

The army having begun its march, entered the Nemean foreſt, where the generals

[a] Pauſan. lib. 9, cap. 9, p. 728.
[b] Diodor. lib. 4, p. 267. Apollodor. lib. 3, p. 187. Æſchyl. in Sept. cont. Theb. Euripid. in Phœniſſ.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 20, p. 156.

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inſtituted the games ſtill celebrated with the greateſt ſolemnity [d]. After paſſing the iſthmus of Corinth, they entered Bœotia, and forced the troops of Eteocles to ſhut themſelves up within the walls of Thebes [e].

The Greeks were yet ignorant of the art of gaining poſſeſſion of a place defended by a ſtrong garriſon. All the efforts of the beſiegers were directed againſt the gates; all the hopes of the beſieged conſiſted in frequent ſallies. In theſe, great numbers had already fallen on both ſides; already the valiant Capaneus had been precipitated from the top of a ladder he had reared againſt the wall [f]; when Eteocles and Polynices reſolved to decide their differences by ſingle combat [g]. The day being appointed, the place determined, the people in tears, and the armies waiting in profound ſilence, the two princes ruſhed upon each other; and mutually pierced with wounds,

[d] Apollodor. lib. 3, p. 189. Argument. in Nem. Pind. p. 319.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 9, cap. 9, p. 729.
[f] Diod. lib. 4, p. 268.
[g] Apollod. lib. 3, p. 193.

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breathed forth their laſt, unable to ſatiate their vengeance. They were laid on the ſame funeral pile; and in order to expreſs, by a dreadful image, their implacability during life, it was ſaid that the flame itſelf, as if animated by their hatred, had divided, that their aſhes might remain diſtinct and unmixed.

Creon, brother of Jocaſta, was entruſted, during the minority of Laodamas, ſon of Eteocles, with the continuance of a war that every day became more fatal to the aſſailants, and which was terminated by a vigorous ſally of the Thebans. The combat was dreadful and bloody; Tydeus, and the chief part of the Argive generals periſhed in it. Adraſtus, compelled to raiſe the ſiege, was unable to beſtow funeral honours on thoſe who remained on the field of battle[h]. Theſeus was obliged to interpoſe his authority to conſtrain Creon to ſubmit to the law of nations, then beginning to be introduced[i].

[h] Diod. lib. 4, p. 268. Apollodor. lib. 3, p. 195.
[i] Iſocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 269. Pauſan. lib. 1, c. 38, p. 94. Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 14.

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The victory of the Thebans only deferred their deſtruction. The Argive chiefs had left ſons worthy of becoming their avengers. When every thing was ripe for the enterpriſe *, theſe young princes, among whom appeared Diomed, ſon of Tydeus, and Sthenelus, ſon of Capaneus, entered the country of their enemies at the head of a formidable army.

A battle ſoon enſued, and the Thebans having loſt it abandoned the city, which was delivered over to pillage [k]. Theraſander, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Polynices, was ſlain a few years after going to the ſiege of Troy. After his death, two princes of the ſame family reigned at Thebes; but the ſecond being ſuddenly ſeized with a dreadful phrenſy, the Thebans, perſuaded that the furies would never ceaſe to purſue the blood of Œdipus while there remained a ſingle drop of it upon the earth, placed another family on the throne. Three ge-

* The year 1319 before Chriſt.

[k] Pauſan. lib. 9, c. 5, p. 722. Apollodor. lib. 3, c. 38, p. 197. Diod. lib. 4, p. 269.

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nerations after they adopted the republican form of government, which they ſtill preſerve [1].

It was impoſſible that the repoſe enjoyed by Greece, after the ſecond Theban war, ſhould be durable. The leaders of that expedition had returned crowned with glory, and the ſoldiers laden with the ſpoils of their enemies: both were elated with all the pride which victory inſpires; and recounting to their children and their friends, eagerly thronging round them, the iſſue of their labours and exploits, powerfully ſtimulated their imaginations, and inflamed every heart with the ardent thirſt of combats. An unforeſeen event ſoon brought into action theſe unfortunate impreſſions.

On the coaſt of Aſia, oppoſite to Greece, peaceably lived a prince, who enumerated only ſovereigns among his anceſtors, and was himſelf at the head of a numerous family, almoſt entirely compoſed of youthful heroes. Priam reigned at Troy; and his

[1] Pauſan. lib. 9, p. 723.

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kingdom, as well from the opulence and the courage of his people, as from his connections with the kings of Aſſyria[m], diffuſed no leſs ſplendour over this quarter of Aſia, than the kingdom of Mycenæ diſplayed in Greece.

The houſe of Argos, eſtabliſhed in the latter city, acknowledged for its chief Agamemnon, ſon of Atreus. To his dominions he had added thoſe of Corinth, of Sicyon, and ſeveral adjoining cities[n]. His power, increaſed by that of his brother Menelaus, who had lately eſpouſed Helen, heireſs of the kingdom of Sparta, gave him a conſiderable influence in this part of Greece, which, from Pelops, his grandfather, had taken the name of Peloponneſus.

Tantalus, his great grandfather, firſt reigned in Lydia; and, contrary to the moſt ſacred rights, had held in chains a Trojan prince, named Ganymede. Still more recently, Hercules, deſcended from the kings of Argos, had deſtroyed the city of Troy,

[m] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 685.
[n] Strabo, lib. 8, p. 372.

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put to death Laomedon, and carried off Heſione his daughter.

The memory of theſe injuries, ſtill unrevenged, perpetuated between the houſes of Priam and Agamemnon an hereditary and implacable hatred, inflamed from day to day by the rivalry of power, the moſt terrible of the deſtructive paſſions. Paris, the ſon of Priam, was deſtined to bring to maturity theſe latent ſeeds of diſſenſion.

Paris paſſed into Greece, and repaired to the court of Menelaus, where the beauty of Helen attracted every eye. To the advantages of perſon, the Trojan prince united the deſire of pleaſing [o], and a happy combination of agreeable talents: theſe qualities, heightened by the hope of ſucceſs, made ſuch an impreſſion on the queen of Sparta, that ſhe abandoned all to follow him. The Atridæ in vain ſtrove to obtain, by conciliatory means, a ſatisfaction proportionate to the offence; Priam only ſaw in his ſon the avenger of the wrongs his houſe and all

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 3, v. 39.

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Aſia had ſuffered from the Greeks [P], and rejected every accommodating propoſal.

On this extraordinary news, thoſe tumultuous and furious menaces, thoſe rumours which are the forerunners of war and death, broke forth and were heard on all ſides. The nations of Greece were agitated like a foreſt ſhaken by the tempeſt. The kings whoſe power was limited to a ſingle city, and thoſe whoſe authority extends over different tribes of people, alike inſpired by the ſpirit of heroiſm, aſſembled at Mycenæ. They ſwore to obey Agamemnon as their chief in the expedition, to avenge Menelaus, and reduce Ilium to aſhes. Thoſe princes who were at firſt unwilling to enter into the confederation, were ſoon hurried away by the perſuaſive eloquence of Neſtor, king of Pylos; the artful harangues of Ulyſſes, king of Ithaca; the example of Ajax, of Salamis; of Diomedes, of Argos; of Idomeneus, of Crete; of Achilles, ſon of Peleus, who

[P] Herodot. lib. 1, c. 1.

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reigned over a diſtrict of Theſſaly; and by a multitude of youthful warriors, already intoxicated with the ſucceſs of which their ſanguine ardour entertained no doubt.

After long preparations, the army, conſiſting of about one hundred thouſand men[q], collected together at the port of Aulis; and was conveyed by near twelve hundred ſail of ſhips to the ſhores of Troas.

The city of Troy, defended by ramparts and towers, was ſtill further protected by a numerous army[r], commanded by Hector, ſon of Priam; under whom ſerved a number of allied princes, who had joined their forces to the Trojans[s]. Aſſembled on the ſhore, they preſented a formidable front to the army of the Greeks, who, after repulſing them, fortified themſelves in a camp with the greateſt part of their ſhips.

The two armies again made trial of their ſtrength; and the doubtful ſucceſs of ſeveral

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[q] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2, v. 494, &c. Thucydid. lib. 1, c. 10.
[r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8, v. 562.
[s] Id. lib. 2, v. 876. lib. 10, v. 434.

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ſkirmiſhes evidently foretold that the ſiege muſt prove a work of time.

The Greeks with their frail veſſels, and but little knowledge of the art of navigation, were unable to preſerve an uninterrupted communication between Greece and Aſia. The army began to want ſubſiſtence. Part of the fleet was employed in ravaging, or in ſowing the iſlands and adjacent coaſts; whilſt various parties, diſperſed over the country, carried off the flocks and harveſts. There was yet another reaſon which rendered theſe detachments abſolutely neceſſary. The city was not inveſted; and as the troops of Priam ſecured it againſt a ſudden aſſault, it was determined to haraſs the allies of this prince; at once to profit by their ſpoils, and to deprive him of their ſuccour. Achilles ravaged the country on all ſides with fire and ſword[t]: after ſpreading univerſal havoc like a deſtructive torrent, he returned with an immenſe booty, which was divided among the army, and with in-

[t] Iliad. lib. 9, v. 328.

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numerable ſlaves, which the chiefs diſtributed among themſelves.

Troy was ſituated at the foot of Mount Ida, at ſome diſtance from the ſea: the Grecian tents and ſhips occupied the ſhore; and the intermediate ſpace was the theatre of courage and ferocity. The Trojans and the Greeks, armed with pikes, clubs, ſwords, arrows, and javelins; covered with helmets, cuiraſſes, cuiſſes, and bucklers; their ranks cloſe, and their generals at their head, advanced toward each other; the former with loud ſhouts, the latter obſerving a ſtill more dreadful ſilence. In an inſtant the leaders, become ſoldiers, more emulous of giving great examples than prudent councils, ruſhed forward into the midſt of danger, leaving it almoſt invariably to chance to beſtow that victory they neither knew how to plan or to proſecute: the troops were thrown into confuſion on the firſt ſhock, like the waves agitated by the winds in the ſtraits of Eubœa. Night ſeparated the combatants; the city on the one ſide, or the camp on the other, ſerved as an aſylum for the van-

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guiſhed: the victory was bloody, but was far from producing any effect.

On the following days, the flame of the funeral pile devoured the victims of a premature death, and their memory was honoured by tears and funeral games. The truce expired, and hoſtilities again commenced.

Often, in the hotteſt of the battle, a warrior, raiſing his voice, defied ſome chieftain of the enemy to ſingle combat. The troops in ſilence beheld them ſometimes hurl their javelins, and ſometimes enormous ſtones. Frequently they cloſed ſword in hand, and almoſt always mutually loaded each other with inſult, to exaſperate their fury. The hatred of the victor ſurvived his triumph: if he could not mangle the body of his enemy, and deprive it of the rites of ſepulture, he at leaſt endeavoured to deſpoil him of his armour. But, at the ſame moment, the troops on each ſide advanced, either to ſnatch from him his prey, or to enable him to ſecure it; and thus the action became general.

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It became ſo likewiſe when either of the armies was alarmed for the life of its champion, or when he himſelf ſought ſafety in flight. Circumſtances might juſtify this latter conduct, but inſult and contempt for ever ſtigmatized the man who fled without a ſtruggle, ſince he only deſerves to live who is at all times ready to brave death. Indulgence, nevertheleſs, was extended to him who did not retire before the ſuperiority of his antagoniſt, till he had experienced his proweſs: for the valour of thoſe times conſiſting leſs in intrepidity of mind than the conſciouſneſs of ſtrength, it was no diſgrace to fly when vanquiſhed only by neceſſity; but great glory was annexed to the overtaking an enemy in his retreat, and uniting to the ſtrength that prepared the victory, the ſwiftneſs which effected its deciſion.

Aſſociations in arms and ſentiments between two warriors never were ſo common as during the ſiege of Troy. Achilles and Patroclus, Ajax and Teucer, Diomedes and Sthenelus, Idomeneus and Merion, and a

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multitude of other heroes worthy to follow their ſteps, frequently fought by the ſide of each other, and throwing themſelves into the thickeſt of the battle, ſhared at once the danger and the glory. At other times, mounted on the ſame car, one guided the courſers, whilſt the other repelled death, and drove him back upon the enemy. The death of a warrior required a ſpeedy vengeance on the part of his companion: blood demanded blood.

This idea, powerfully impreſſed on their minds, ſteeled the Greeks and Trojans againſt the numberleſs calamities they endured. The former had more than once been on the point of taking the city; more than once had the latter forced the camp, in deſpite of the paliſadoes, the ditches, and walls by which it was defended. Both armies ſenſibly diminiſhed, and the moſt illuſtrious warriors on each ſide ſucceſſively fell. Hector, Sarpedon, Ajax, Achilles himſelf, had already bitten the duſt. Such changes of fortune induced the Trojans to wiſh that Helen might be reſtored; while the Greeks

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ſighed to reviſit their native country: both however were withheld from any accommodation, by ſhame, and that unhappy propenſity which men have to habituate themſelves to every thing, except what may enſure their tranquillity and happineſs.

The eyes of all nations were fixed on the plains of Troy, on thoſe ſcenes to which glory loudly ſummoned the princes who had taken no part at the beginning of the war. Impatient to ſignalize themſelves on a theatre open to the whole world, they arrived ſucceſſively to unite their troops to thoſe of their allies, and ſometimes fell in a maiden combat.

At length, after ten years of reſiſtance and painful labour, after having loſt the flower of her youth and of her heroes, Troy fell beneath the power of her enemies; and her fall ſo reſounded through all Greece, that it ſtill ſerves as a principal epocha in the annals of nations*. Her walls were levelled with the duſt, her houſes, her tem-

* The year 1282 before Chriſt.

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ples reduced to aſhes. Priam expiring at the foot of the altars, his ſons weltering in their blood around him; Hecuba his queen, Caſſandra his daughter, Andromache the widow of Hector, and numerous other princeſſes, loaded with chains, and dragged like ſlaves through the ſtreets, ſtreaming with human blood, and filled with the bodies of a wretched multitude, devoured by the flames, or ſlaughtered by the avenging ſword; ſuch was the cataſtrophe of this fatal war. The Greeks ſatiated their inexorable fury; but this cruel pleaſure was the end of their proſperity, and the commencement of their calamities.

Their return home was rendered remarkable by the moſt ſignal reverſe of fortune[u]. Mneſtheus, king of Athens, ended his days in the iſle of Melos[x]. Ajax, king of the Locrians, was loſt with his whole fleet[y]. Ulyſſes, more unfortunate, had often reaſon to fear the ſame fate, during the ten whole

[u] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 682.
[x] Euſeb. Chron. Can. p. 128.
[y] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 4, v. 499.

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years which he wandered over the ſeas. Others, ſtill more to be lamented, were received in their families as ſtrangers, poſſeſſing claims obſolete from long abſence, and whoſe perſons an unexpected return had rendered odious. Inſtead of the tranſports which their arrival ought to have excited, they heard around them nothing but the hateful exclamations of ambition, adultery, and the moſt ſordid intereſt. Betrayed by their kindred and their friends, the greater number departed under the conduct of Idomeneus, Philoctetes, Diomedes, and Teucer, to ſeek new connections in unknown countries.

The houſe of Argos was eſpecially to be diſtinguiſhed for its crimes and inteſtine miſeries. Agamemnon found his throne and bed ſeized on and polluted by an unworthy uſurper. He was aſſaſſinated by Clytemneſtra his queen, who ſoon after was murdered by her ſon Oreſtes.

Theſe horrors, then multiplied in almoſt every country of Greece, and ſtill repeatedly exhibited on the ſtage of Athens,

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ſhould be a leſſon to kings and nations, and teach them to dread even victory itſelf. That of the Greeks was no leſs fatal to themſelves than to the Trojans. Enfeebled by their exertions and their ſucceſſes, they were no longer able to reſiſt inteſtine diſſenſions, and became habituated to the fatal idea, that war is as neceſſary to a country as peace. In the courſe of a few generations the greater part of thoſe royal houſes, which had deſtroyed that of Priam, fell to decay, and became extinct; and eighty years after the deſtruction of Troy [z], a part of Peloponneſus paſſed into the hands of the Heraclidæ, or deſcendants of Hercules.

The revolution produced by the return of theſe princes was brilliant, and founded on the moſt ſpecious pretexts *. Amongſt the families which, in the remoteſt times, poſſeſſed the throne of Argos and Mycenæ, the moſt diſtinguiſhed were thoſe of Danaus and Pelops. From the firſt of theſe princes, Prœtus, Acriſius, Perſeus, and Hercules

[z] Thucydid. lib. 1, cap. 12.
* In 1202 before Chriſt.

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were deſcended; from the ſecond, Atreus, Agamemnon, Oreſtes and his ſons.

Hercules, ſubſervient during his life-time to the will of Euryſtheus, whom certain circumſtances had inveſted with the ſupreme power, was unable to aſſert his rights, but tranſmitted them to his ſons, who were conſequently baniſhed from Peloponneſus. They more than once attempted to return[a], but were conſtantly prevented by the houſe of Pelops, which, after the death of Euryſtheus, had uſurped the crown: their titles were crimes ſo long as they could be oppoſed by force; but no ſooner did this family ceaſe to be ſo formidable than the attachment of the people to their ancient ſovereigns was renewed in favour of the Heraclidæ, and the jealouſy of the neighbouring powers rouſed againſt the houſe of Pelops. That of Hercules was headed by three brothers, Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, who aſſociating with the Dorians[b], entered with them into Peloponne-

[a] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 26. Diod. Sic. lib. 4, p. 261.
[b] Strab. lib. 9, p. 393.

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ſus, where moſt of the cities were obliged to recognize them for their ſovereigns [c].

The deſcendants of Agamemnon driven out of Argos, and thoſe of Neſtor from Meſſenia, took refuge, the former in Thrace, the latter in Attica. Argos fell to the lot of Temenus, and Meſſenia to that of Creſphontes. Euryſthenes and Procles, ſons of Ariſtodemus, who died in the beginning of the expedition, reigned at Lacedæmon [d].

Some time after, the conquerors attacked Codrus, king of Athens, who had afforded an aſylum to their enemies. This prince learning that the oracle promiſed the victory to that army which ſhould loſe its general in the battle, voluntarily devoted himſelf to death; a ſacrifice which ſo animated his troops, that they entirely defeated the Heraclidæ [e].

Here end the ages uſually termed heroic; and here muſt we place ourſelves to conceive

[c] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 13, p. 140.

[d] Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 18. Tacit. Annal. l. 4, cap. 43. Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 18, p. 151. Id. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 205. Vell. Patercul. lib. 1, c. 2.

[e] Meurſ. de Reg. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 11.

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a juſt idea of the ſpirit of them, and enter into details which the rapid courſe of events has ſcarcely given time to indicate.

In ancient times all the ſtates of Greece were monarchies [f]; at this day we ſee nothing but republics. The firſt kings poſſeſſed only a ſingle city or a diſtrict [g]. Some extended their power at the expence of their neighbours, and formed great ſtates: their ſucceſſors loſt their authority while they wiſhed to increaſe it to the detriment of their ſubjects.

Had no other colonies emigrated into Greece but that of Cecrops, the Athenians more enlightened, and conſequently more powerful than the other ſavages, would have gradually brought them under ſubjection, and Greece would have formed only one great kingdom, which would ſtill have ſubſiſted, and have reſembled thoſe of Egypt and of Perſia. But various tribes arriving from the Eaſt, divided it into ſeveral

[f] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 680. Ariſt. de Repub. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 297. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 3, t. iii. p. 161.
[g] Thucydid. lib. 1, cap. 13. Homer. Iliad. lib. 2, v. 495, &c.

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ſtates; and the Greeks every where adopted the monarchical form of government, the nations which poliſhed them being acquainted with no other; it being more eaſy too to obey the commands of a ſingle man than thoſe of ſeveral chiefs, and the idea of at once obeying and commanding, of being ſubject and ſovereign at the ſame time, ſuppoſing more knowledge and combination than can be ſuppoſed in an infant people.

The kings exerciſed the functions of pontiff, general, and judge [h]; the power they tranſmitted to their deſcendants [i] was very extenſive, yet tempered by a council whom they conſulted, and whoſe deciſions they communicated to the general aſſembly of the nation [k].

Sometimes, after a long war, the two pretenders to the throne, or the two warriors they had choſen, preſented themſelves armed; and the right of governing men

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[h] Ariſt. de Repub. lib. 3, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 357.
[i] Thucydid. lib. 1, cap. 13.
[k] Ariſt. de Mor. lib. 3, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 32. Dionyſ. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2, t. i. p. 261.

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depended on the ſtrength or addreſs of the victor.

To ſupport the ſplendor of his rank, the ſovereign, beſides the tributes impoſed upon the people[l], poſſeſſed a domain inherited from his anceſtors, which had been augmented by his conqueſts, and ſometimes by the generoſity of his friends. Theſeus, baniſhed from Athens, had no other reſource but the eſtates left him by his father in the iſle of Scyros [m]. The Ætolians, preſſed by a powerful enemy, promiſed Meleager, ſon of their king Œneus, a conſiderable tract of land, if he would combat at their head [n]. The multiplicity of examples renders it impoſſible to enumerate all the princes who owed part of their wealth to victory or gratitude: but we muſt not omit remarking that they gloried in the preſents they obtained, becauſe theſe preſents being conſidered as the recompence of benevolence, or the ſymbol of friendſhip, it was honourable

[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9, v. 156. Schol. ibid. Odyſſ. lib. 13, v. 15.

[m] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 16.

[n] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9, v. 573.

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to receive, and diſgraceful not to merit them.

Nothing contributed more to add luſtre to the ſupreme authority, and energy to courage, than the ſpirit of heroiſm; nothing harmonized more happily with the manners of the nation, which were almoſt every where the ſame. The character of the men of that day was compoſed of an inconſiderable number of ſimple, but expreſſive and ſtrongly marked features: art had not yet added her colouring to the work of nature. Individuals therefore muſt have differed from each other, and nations borne a ſtriking reſemblance.

Bodies naturally robuſt, became ſtill ſtronger by education; minds inflexible and unrefined, were active and enterpriſing, loving or hating to exceſs, always hurried on by the ſenſes, and conſtantly ready to break all bounds. Nature, leſs conſtrained in thoſe who were inveſted with power, diſplayed herſelf with more energy in them than in the people; they revenged an offence by violence or injuſtice; and ſhewing them-

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ſelves weaker in grief than in misfortune, if ſenſibility be a weakneſs, they wept over the inſult they were unable to retaliate. Mild and obliging, when treated with friendſhip and reſpect; impetuous and terrible when theſe were wanting, they ſuddenly paſſed from the exceſs of violence to the bittereſt remorſe; and repaired their faults with the ſame ſimplicity as they avowed them [o]. In a word, as they neither knew how to veil or diſſemble their virtues or their vices, princes and heroes were openly inflamed with the thirſt of gain, of glory, and of pleaſure.

Theſe maſculine and haughty minds were incapable of languid emotions. They were agitated at once by the two noble ſentiments of love and friendſhip: with this difference, that love with them was a devouring and a tranſient flame; friendſhip, a lively and continued warmth. Friendſhip produced actions conſidered at this day as prodigies, but formerly as no more than

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4, v. 360. Id. lib. 23, paſſim. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 8, v. 402.

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duties. Pylades and Oreſtes wiſhing to die for each other, only did what other heroes had done before them. Love, violent in its tranſports, cruel in its jealouſy, was frequently attended by the moſt fatal conſequences. Over hearts more ſuſceptible than tender, beauty had more ſway than the qualities by which it is embelliſhed; beauty was the ornament of the ſuperb feſtivals given by princes when they contracted an alliance. There, amid kings and warriors, princeſſes aſſembled, whoſe preſence and rivalry were a frequent ſource of diſſenſions and misfortunes.

At the nuptials of a king of Lariſſa, ſome young Theſſalians, known by the name of Centaurs, inſulted the companions of the youthful queen, and fell victims to the vengeance of Theſeus, and ſeveral heroes, who, on that occaſion, ſtood forth the champions of a ſex which they more than once had groſsly injured [p].

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 4, p. 272. Ovid. Metam. lib. 12, v. 210. Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 21, v. 295.

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The marriage of Thetis and of Peleus was disturbed by the pretensions of some princesses, who, disguised, as was the custom, under the names of Juno, Minerva, and other goddesses, were all competitors for the prize of beauty [q].

The princes and heroes were likewise assembled by another kind of spectacle: they thronged to the funeral rites of a sovereign, and displayed their magnificence and address in games celebrated in honour of his memory. Games were exhibited over a tomb, decorum being unnecessary to grief. The delicacy that rejects all consolation is an excess or perfection in sentiment with which they were yet unacquainted; but they well knew how to shed unfeigned tears, to suspend them at the command of Nature [r], and again to let them flow when the heart called to mind the memory of its losses: "I find a most lively pleasure," says Menelaus in Homer [s], "in weeping for

[q] Mezir. Comment. sur les Epîtres d'Ovid. t. i. p. 220. Ban. Mythol. t. iii. p. 182.

[r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 19, v. 229; lib. 24, v. 48.

[s] Id. Odyss. lib. 4, v. 190.

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" thoſe who fell before the walls of Troy." Yet this was ten years after their death.

The heroes of that age were at the ſame time religious and unjuſt. When, by accident, to gratify their perſonal hatred, or in their own defence, they had been the cauſe of the death of any one, they ſhuddered at the blood they had ſpilt; and abandoning their throne or native land, went to implore the aid of expiation in ſome diſtant country. After the ſacrifices enjoined them by this ceremony, a purifying water was poured upon the guilty hand[t]; after which they again returned into ſociety, and prepared themſelves for new combats.

The people, ſtruck with this ceremony, were not leſs awed by the menacing exterior conſtantly aſſumed by their heroes. Some threw over their ſhoulders the ſpoils of the tigers and lions over which they had triumphed[u]; others appeared with maſſy clubs, or weapons of different kinds,

[t] Ovid. Faſt. lib. 2, v. 37. Schol. Soph. in Ajac. v. 664.
[u] Plut. in Theſ. p. 4, Numiſm. Veter.

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wreſted from the robbers from whom they had delivered Greece [x].

Thus habited, they preſented themſelves to claim the rights of hoſpitality, rights at preſent circumſcribed within certain families, but then common to all [y]. At the voice of the ſtranger every door flew open, every attention was laviſhed; and while offering the nobleſt homage to humanity, no enquiries were made reſpecting rank or birth till they had anticipated every wiſh of their gueſt [z]. Not to their legiſlators were the Greeks indebted for this ſublime inſtitution; they owed it to Nature, whoſe vivid and penetrating light filled the heart of man, and is not yet entirely extinct, ſince our firſt moral ſenſation is an emotion of eſteem and confidence for our fellow-creatures, and ſince diſtruſt would be conſidered as an enormous vice, did not the ex-

[x] Plut. in Theſ. p. 4, Numiſm. Veter.
[y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6, v. 15. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 3, v. 34; lib. 5, v. 208; lib. 8, v. 544.
[z] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6, v. 173. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 1, v. 124; lib. 3, v. 70.

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perience of repeated perfidy render it almoſt a virtue.

Yet theſe ages, though rendered illuſtrious by actions which do honour to humanity, were alſo ſullied by the moſt atrocious and unheard of crimes. Some of theſe have no doubt really been committed; they were the fruits of ambition and vengeance, ungovernable paſſions, which, according to the difference of times and circumſtances, employed to attain their ends ſometimes the artifices of cunning, and ſometimes open force. The reſt owe their origin only to poetry, which, in its paintings, diſguiſes the events of hiſtory as it does the operations of Nature. The poets, maſters of our hearts and ſlaves of their own imagination, have brought on the ſtage the principal heroes of antiquity, and, from a few facts which have eſcaped the deſtruction of time, have pourtrayed characters which they vary or contraſt at pleaſure [a]. Sometimes, depicting them in hideous colours, they tranſ-

[a] Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 320.

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form frailties into crimes, and crimes into atrocious enormities. We deteſt that Medea, whom Jaſon brought from Colchis, and whoſe whole life, it is ſaid, was one continued ſcene of horrors; yet was ſhe perhaps acquainted with no other magic than her charms, and guilty of no other crime than love [b]. Perhaps, likewiſe, the greater part of thoſe princes, whoſe memory is at preſent covered with opprobrium, were not more culpable than Medea. Thoſe remote ages were not the reign of barbariſm, but rather of a certain violence of character, which, by acting without diſguiſe, frequently defeated itſelf. Yet was it at leaſt poſſible to guard againſt the hatred which manifeſted itſelf by rage; but how much more difficult is it at preſent to defend ourſelves againſt thoſe deliberate cruelties and cool hatreds, which patiently wait the moment of revenge! The age really barbarous is not that in which there is moſt impetuoſity

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 4, p. 249. Parmeniſc. ap. Schol. Eurip. in Med. v. 9 et 273. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5, cap. 21. Banier, Mythol. liv. 3, chap. 5, t. iii. p. 259.

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of paſſion, but that which moſt abounds in duplicity of ſentiment.

Neither rank nor ſex afforded exemptions from domeſtic cares, which ceaſe to be humiliating when they are common to all conditions. Sometimes they were aſſociated with agreeable talents, ſuch as muſic and dancing; and ſtill more frequently with tumultuous pleaſures, as the chace, and exerciſes which conduce to preſerve and increaſe bodily ſtrength.

The laws were few in number and very ſimple, for it was leſs requiſite to provide for caſes of injuſtice than of inſult; and more neceſſary to curb the paſſions in their impetuoſity, than to purſue vice through all its mazes.

The great truths of morality, firſt diſcovered by that admirable inſtinct which prompts man to good, were ſoon rendered evident by their manifeſt utility in practice. The motives and recompence then held forth for virtue were not ſo much the conſcious ſatisfaction of the mind, as the favour of the gods, the public eſteem, and

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the opinion of poſterity [c]. Reaſon had not yet turned inwardly on herſelf to examine the nature of moral duties, and ſubject them to that analyſis, which ſometimes tends to confirm and ſometimes to overthrow them. It was only generally admitted, that in all the occurrences of life it is advantageous to render to every man his due; and obeying this anſwer of the heart, honeſt men reſigned themſelves to the dictates of virtue, without regretting any of the ſacrifices it requires.

Knowledge was of two kinds: that tradition of which the poets were the interpreters, and the experience acquired by the aged. Tradition preſerved ſome traces of the hiſtory of the gods, and of that of men. Hence the reſpect paid to poets, who were employed to recount theſe intereſting events at banquets, and on all ſolemn occaſions; to adorn them with the charms of muſic, and to embelliſh them by fictions which flattered the vanity of nations and of ſovereigns [d].

[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2, v. 119. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 2, v. 64.
[d] Id. Odyſſ. lib. 1, v. 152 et 338.

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The wiſdom of the old men ſupplied the tardy experience of ages [e], and by reducing examples into principles, made known the effects of the paſſions, and the means of bringing them under controul. Hence originated that eſteem for age which aſſigned it the firſt rank in the aſſemblies of the nation, and ſcarcely granted youth the permiſſion to interrogate it [f].

The extreme vivacity of the paſſions gave an ineſtimable value to prudence, as did the neceſſity of inſtruction to the talent of eloquence.

Of all the powers of the mind, imagination was firſt cultivated, becauſe this is the quality which manifeſts itſelf earlieſt in the infancy of men and nations; and it was more eſpecially nurtured and expanded among the Greeks from the climate they inhabited, and the connections they contracted with the people of the Eaſt.

In Egypt, where the ſun perpetually darts his burning rays, where the winds, the in-

[e] Hom. Iliad. lib. 1, v. 259; lib. 3, v. 108; lib. 9, v. 60.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 23, v. 587. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 3, v. 24.

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undations of the Nile, and other phænomena, are ſubject to a conſtant order, where the ſtability and uniformity of Nature ſeem to evince its eternity, every object was aggrandized by the imagination, which expanding itſelf on all ſides into infinity, neceſſarily inſpired aſtoniſhment and awe.

In Greece, where the ſky, ſometimes troubled by ſtorms, almoſt inceſſantly ſparkles with a pure light; where the diverſity of aſpects and ſeaſons continually preſents the eye with ſtriking contraſts; where Nature at every ſtep, at every inſtant, appears in action, and inceſſantly diverſe from herſelf, the imagination, richer and more active than in Egypt, beſtowed new embelliſhments on every object, and diffuſed a mild and genial warmth through all the operations of the mind.

Thus the Greeks, forſaking their foreſts, no longer beheld objects under a terrific and gloomy veil; and thus the Egyptians, tranſplanted into Greece, gradually ſoftened the ſevere and gigantic outlines of their pictures. Intermingling with each other, and conſti-

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tuting but one and the ſame people, they formed a language brilliant in figurative expreſſions; they exhibited their ancient opinions in colours which diminiſhed their ſimplicity, but rendered them more captivating; and as all beings capable of motion ſeemed to them full of life, and they referred to partial cauſes the phænomena to the nature of which they were ſtrangers, the univerſe in their eyes was a magnificent machine, the ſprings of which were acted on at will by an infinite number of inviſible agents.

This was the origin of that philoſophy, or rather that religion, which ſtill ſubſiſts among the people; a confuſed mixture of truths and falſehoods; of venerable traditions and pleaſing fictions; a ſyſtem that flatters the ſenſes, and offends the underſtanding; which breathes only pleaſure, while it teaches and applauds virtue; and of which it may be proper to trace a ſlight ſketch, as it ſtrongly marks the character of the age that gave it birth.

What is that power which has called forth

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the univerſe from chaos? The infinite Being, the pure light, the ſource of life [g]. Let us give it the moſt amiable of its titles; it is love itſelf; that love whoſe preſence reſtores harmony to all things [h], and from whom both men and gods derive their origin [i].

Theſe intelligent beings diſputed the empire of the world; but, caſt to the earth in tremendous combats, men were for ever ſubjected to their victors.

The race of immortals multiplied like that of men. Saturn, iſſuing from the commerce between heaven and earth, had three ſons, who divided the ſovereignty of the univerſe: Jupiter reigns in heaven, Neptune over the ſea, Pluto in the infernal regions, and all three over the earth [k]; all three are environed with a multitude of deities, intruſted with the execution of their commands.

Jupiter is the moſt potent of the gods,

[g] Orph. ap. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 390.
[h] Heſiod. Theog. v. 120.
[i] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 700.
[k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 15, v. 193.

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for he launches the thunder: his court is the moſt ſplendid of all; it is the reſidence of eternal light; and muſt be the abode of happineſs, ſince every earthly good proceeds from heaven.

The divinities of the ocean and of the infernal ſhades are implored in certain places and under certain circumſtances; the celeſtial gods every where, and at every moment of life. They ſurpaſs the others in power, for they dwell above us; whilſt the former are either beſide us, or beneath our feet.

The gods diſpenſe to men life, health, riches, wiſdom, and valour[l]. We accuſe them as the authors of our ſufferings[m]; they reproach us with being wretched from our own faults[n]. Pluto is odious to mortals[o], becauſe he is inflexible. The other gods permit themſelves to be moved by our prayers, and eſpecially by our ſacrifices, the

[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2, v. 197; lib. 7, v. 288; lib. 13, v. 730.
[m] Id. Iliad. lib. 3, v. 164; lib. 6, v. 349.
[n] Id. Odyſſ. lib. 1, v. 33.
[o] Id. Iliad. lib. 9, v. 158.

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odour of which is to them a delicious perfume [p].

If they have ſenſes like ourſelves, they muſt have the ſame paſſions. Beauty makes on them the ſame impreſſion as on us. We have often ſeen them ſeeking on earth for pleaſures, rendered more poignant from their forgetting for a time their exalted nature, and aſſuming the veil of myſtery.

By this peculiar combination of ideas, the Greeks had no intention to degrade the divinity. Accuſtomed as they were to judge of all animated beings by themſelves, they aſcribed their weakneſſes to the gods, and their ſentiments to animals, without imagining that they debaſed the former or elevated the latter.

When they wiſhed to form an idea of the happineſs of heaven, and the attention paid by the immortals to the government of the univerſe, they caſt their eyes around them, and ſaid:

On earth, nations are happy when they

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[p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4, v. 48; lib. 24, v. 425.

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paſs their days in feſtivals; a ſovereign, when he aſſembles at his table the princes and princeſſes who reign over the adjacent countries; when youthful ſlaves, perfumed with eſſences, pour out wine in overflowing goblets, and ſkilful fingers harmoniouſly accord their voices with the lyre [q]: thus, in the frequent banquets of the inhabitants of heaven, youth and beauty, in the perſon of Hebe, diſtribute nectar and ambroſia; the vaulted roofs of Olympus re-echo with the ſongs of Apollo and the muſes, and joy ſparkles in every eye.

Sometimes Jupiter aſſembles the immortals around his throne; and deliberates with them on the affairs of earth, as a ſovereign diſcuſſes thoſe of his ſtates with the nobles of his kingdom. The gods deliver their different opinions, which they ſupport with warmth, till Jupiter pronounces his final deciſion, and the reſt ſubmit in ſilence.

The gods inveſted with his authority

[q] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 1, v. 152; lib. 9, v. 5. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 8, c. 3, t. ii. p. 451.

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communicate motion to the univerſe, and are the authors of the phænomena which aſtoniſh mortals.

Every morning a youthful goddeſs opens the gates of the Eaſt, and diffuſes a refreſhing coolneſs through the air, while ſhe ſcatters flowers over the fields, and ſtrews rubies in the path of the ſun. At this ſignal the earth awakes, and prepares to receive the god, who daily beſtows on her new life: he appears, with a magnificence and ſplendor ſuited to the ſovereign of the ſkies; his car, conducted by the hours, flies and penetrates the immenſity of ſpace, filling it with radiance and genial warmth. No ſooner does he reach the palace of the ſovereign of the ſeas, than night, who cloſely and inceſſantly follows him, extends her gloomy veil, and hangs the celeſtial dome with innumerable fires. Then riſes another car, whoſe mild and conſoling light invites ſuſceptible hearts to meditation. It is conducted by a goddeſs. She is coming in ſilence to receive the tender homage of Endymion. That arch which ſhines

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with ſuch rich colours, and extends from one ſide of the horizon to the other, is formed by the luminous footſteps of Iris, who is bearing the commands of Juno to the earth. Delightful breezes and horrid tempeſts are cauſed by genii, now ſporting in the air, now ſtruggling with each other to produce a commotion in the waves. At the foot of yon eminence is a grotto, the aſylum of coolneſs and of peace. There a beneficent nymph pours forth from her inexhauſtible urn the ſtream that fertilizes the adjacent plain; there ſhe liſtens to the vows of the youthful beauty, who comes to contemplate her charms in the fleeting waters. If we enter that gloomy wood, it is neither the ſilence nor the ſolitude that occupies the mind: we are in the haunts of the druids and the ſylvans, and the ſecret awe we feel is the effect of the divine majeſty.

To whatever ſide we turn our ſteps, we are in the preſence of the gods; we diſcover them within us and without; they have divided the empire of our ſouls, and direct

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our inclinations: ſome preſide over war and the arts of peace; others inſpire the love of wiſdom or of pleaſure; all of them cheriſh juſtice and protect virtue: thirty thouſand divinities, diſperſed around us, continually watch over our thoughts and actions [r]. When we act juſtly, heaven prolongs our days and increaſes our happineſs, but puniſhes us when we do evil [s]. On the commiſſion of crimes, Nemeſis and the black furies iſſue, with horrid roarings, from the depths of hell; and gliding into the heart of the guilty mortal, torment him day and night by piercing and funereal ſhrieks. Theſe ſhrieks are the remorſe of conſcience [t]. If the wicked man before his death neglects to appeaſe the avenging powers by holy ceremonies, the furies, adhering to his ſoul as to their prey, drag it into the gulphs of Tartarus. For the Greeks univerſally believed the immortality of the ſoul. The following was their doc-

[r] Heſiod. Oper. v. 250.
[s] Hom. Odyſſ. lib. 13, v. 214.
[t] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1, c. 14, t. iii. p. 127.

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trine, derived from the Egyptians, concerning that ſubſtance of which we know ſo little.

The ſpiritual ſoul, that is, the mind or intellectual faculty, is enveloped in a ſenſitive ſoul, which is no other than a luminous and ſubtle matter, the faithful image of the body, on which it is moulded, and whoſe reſemblance and dimenſions it for ever continues to retain. Theſe two ſouls are ſtrictly united during life, but are ſeparated by death [u]; and whilſt the ſpiritual ſoul aſcends to heaven, the other takes its flight, under the conduct of Mercury, to the extremities of the earth, where are the infernal regions, the throne of Pluto, and the tribunal of Minos. Abandoned by the whole world, and with nothing on which to rely for ſupport but its good actions, the ſoul appears before this dread tribunal, hears its ſentence, and is admitted to the Elyſian fields or plunged in Tartarus.

The Greeks, who had founded the hap-

[u] Hom. Odyſſ. lib. 11, v. 217. Notes of Madame Dacier, on the 10th and 11th books of the Odyſſey.

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pineſs of their gods only on ſenſual enjoyments, were unable to imagine any other delights for the Elyſian fields but a delicious temperature, and a profound but uniform tranquillity: feeble advantages, which did not prevent virtuous ſouls from ſighing for the light of day, and regretting their paſſions and their pleaſures.

Tartarus is the abode of lamentation and deſpair; the guilty are there conſigned to dreadful torments; their entrails are gnawed by cruel vultures, they are whirled round upon the axes of burning wheels. There Tantalus every moment expires with hunger and with thirſt, in the midſt of a refreſhing ſtream, and beneath trees laden with fruit: there the daughters of Danaus are condemned to fill a veſſel, from which the water is continually eſcaping; and Siſyphus to fix upon the ſummit of a mountain a rock he labours to roll up, and which immediately falls back of itſelf when he is on the point of accompliſhing his taſk. Inſupportable wants, ever aggravated by the preſence of the objects fitted to gra-

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tify them; labours perpetually the ſame, and eternally unſucceſsful. What puniſhments! The imagination that invented them had exhauſted the utmoſt refinements of cruelty to provide chaſtiſements for guilt; whilſt it offered no other recompence to virtue but an imperfect felicity, and that too poiſoned by regret. Was it believed more ſalutary to guide men by the fear of puniſhments than by the allurements of pleaſure; or rather, was it eaſier to multiply the images of miſery than thoſe of happineſs?

This rude ſyſtem of religion taught a ſmall number of dogmas eſſential to the tranquillity of ſociety; the exiſtence of the gods, the immortality of the ſoul, rewards for virtue, puniſhments for vice: it preſcribed ceremonies which might contribute to maintain theſe truths, in its feſtivals and myſteries; it preſented civil government with powerful means by which to turn to advantage the ignorance and credulity of the people, in its oracles, and the ſcience of augury and divination; it left every man,

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in fine, at liberty to adopt the ancient traditions which he thought proper, and inceſſantly to load with new inventions the hiſtory and genealogy of the gods; ſo that the imagination, free to create facts, and to vary by prodigies thoſe which were already known, never ceaſed to embelliſh its details by the marvellous, that ornament ſo frigid in the eye of reaſon, but ſo full of charms for youthful minds and infant nations. The narratives of the traveller to his admiring hoſts, of the father of a family to his liſtening children, of the bard admitted to the entertainments of princes, were wrought up in the intrigue, and conducted to the cataſtrophe by the intervention of the gods; and the ſyſtem of religion inſenſibly became the ſyſtem of poetry and fiction.

At the ſame time, the erroneous ideas which prevailed reſpecting natural philoſophy, enriched language with a multitude of images. The habit of confounding motion with life, and life with ſentiment; the facility of connecting certain relations ſub-

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fiſting between objects, made men in converſation attribute to the moſt inſenſible beings a ſoul, or properties wholly foreign from their nature: the ſword was ſaid to thirſt after the blood of the enemy; the dart to fly impatient to deſtroy. Wings were aſcribed to every thing that cleaves the air, to lightning, to the winds, to arrows, to the ſound of the voice; Aurora had roſy fingers, the ſun golden treſſes, and Thetis ſilver feet. Such metaphors were admired, eſpecially for their novelty; and the language of Greece, like that of all nations in their infancy, became poetical.

Such was nearly the progreſs of the human mind among the Greeks, when Codrus ſacrificed his life for the ſafety of his country[x]. The Athenians, ſtruck with this magnanimous action, aboliſhed the regal title; they affirmed that Codrus had raiſed it ſo high that it muſt be henceforth beyond the deſert of mortals: they adopted Jupiter, therefore, for their ſovereign[y];

[x] Meurſ. de Regib. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 11.
[y] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 2.

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and placing Medon, the ſon of Codrus, by the ſide of the throne, they named him archon, or perpetual chief *, requiring him nevertheleſs to render an account of his adminiſtration to the people [z].

The brothers of this prince had oppoſed his election [a]; but on ſeeing it confirmed by the oracle, rather than cheriſh a principle of inteſtine diviſions in their country, they abandoned it to ſeek a happier fortune in diſtant lands.

Attica and the countries which ſurround it were at this time overſtocked with inhabitants: the conqueſts of the Heraclidæ had occaſioned a reflux into this part of Greece of the whole nation of the Ionians, who formerly occupied twelve cities in Peloponneſus [b]. Theſe foreigners, become a burthen to the places that ſerved them as an aſylum, and ſtill too contiguous to thoſe they had quitted, wiſhed for a change which ſhould make them forget their miſ-

* The year 1092 before Chriſt.

[z] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 292.

[a] Pauſan. lib. 7, cap. 2, p. 523. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8, cap. 5. Velleius Patercul. lib. 1, cap. 2.

[b] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 145. Strab. lib. 8, p. 383.

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fortunes. The ſons of Codrus pointed out to them beyond the ſeas thoſe rich plains in the extremity of Aſia, oppoſite to Europe, part of which was already occupied by thoſe Æolians whom the Heraclidæ had formerly driven out of Peloponneſus [c]. On the confines of Æolia was a fertile country, ſituated in a delightful climate, and inhabited by barbarians whom the Greeks began to deſpiſe. The ſons of Codrus, propoſing this as the object of their expedition, were followed by a great number of adventurers of all ages and countries [d]: the barbarians made but a feeble reſiſtance; and the colony ſoon found itſelf in poſſeſſion of as many cities as it had held in Peloponneſus; and theſe cities, among which Miletus and Epheſus were conſpicuous, by their union compoſed the Ionic body [e].

Medon tranſmitted to his deſcendants the dignity of archon; but as that office

[c] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 149. Strab. lib. 13, p. 582.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 7, cap. 2, p. 524.
[e] Herod. lib. 1, cap. 142. Strab. lib. 14, p. 633. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8, cap. 5.

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began to give ſome umbrage to the Athenians, they at length limited its duration to ten years *; and their alarms increaſing with their precautions, they finally divided it among nine annual magiſtrates †, who ſtill bear the title of archons [f].

Theſe are all the changes which the hiſtory of Athens preſents us, from the death of Codrus to the firſt Olympiad, during a period of three hundred and ſixteen years. Theſe ages, from all appearances, were ages of happineſs; for the calamities of nations are never eraſed from their traditions. We cannot inſiſt too ſtrongly on a reflection ſo afflicting for humanity. In this long interval of peace, Attica undoubtedly produced noble and generous men, devoted to the welfare of their country, and ſages who, by ſuperiority of underſtanding, maintained harmony in all the orders of the ſtate: they are forgotten, for they had only virtues. Had torrents of

* The year 752 before Chriſt.
† The year 684 before Chriſt.
[f] Meurſ. de Archont. lib. 1, cap. 1, &c. Corſin. Faſt. Att. diſſert. 1.

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blood and tears flowed at their command, their names would have triumphed over time; and, in default of hiſtorians, the monuments conſecrated to their memory would ſtill ſpeak for them in the midſt of the public places. Muſt we then deſtroy men to merit altars!

Whilſt Attica enjoyed this ſtate of tranquillity, the other nations of Greece were diſturbed only by ſlight and momentary concuſſions: ages glided on in ſilence, or rather were filled by three of the greateſt men who ever have exiſted; Homer, Lycurgus, and Ariſtomenes. We become acquainted with the two latter at Lacedæmon and in Meſſenia; but every age and place has reſounded with the fame of Homer.

Homer flouriſhed about four centuries after the Trojan war *. In his time, poetry was greatly cultivated among the Greeks: the ſource of thoſe fictions, which conſtitute its eſſence or its ornament, became every day more copious; language ſparkled

* Towards the year 900 before Chriſt.

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with imagery, and by its irregularity was better adapted to the wiſhes of the poet *. Two remarkable events, the Theban and the Trojan war, furniſhed genius with noble ſubjects. Bards, with their lyres in hand, every where ſang to the admiring Greeks the exploits of their ancient warriors.

Orpheus, Linus, Muſæus, and a number of other poets [g], whoſe works are loſt, a circumſtance to which they are perhaps indebted for a great ſhare of their celebrity, had already made their appearance: already that Heſiod, who is ſaid to have rivalled Homer, had entered the career, and in a ſoft and harmonious ſtyle [h] ſung the genealogy of the gods, the labours of the country, and other ſubjects rendered intereſting by his genius.

Homer, therefore, found an art, which for ſome time had been in its infancy, and

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* See Note at the end of the volume.

g Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i.

h Dionyſ. Halicar. de Compoſ. Verb. ſect. 23, t. v. p. 173. Id. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 419. Quintil. Inſtit. Orat. lib. 10, cap. 1, p. 629.

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the progreſs of which was daily quickened by emulation. He took it at this period, and carried it to ſuch a height that he appeared its creator.

He is ſaid to have ſung the war of Thebes[i]: he compoſed ſeveral works which would have given him an equality to the firſt poets of his time; but the Iliad and Odyſſey place him above all before or after him.

In the former of theſe poems he has deſcribed ſome events of the Trojan war; and in the ſecond, the return of Ulyſſes to his country.

During the ſiege of Troy, an event had occurred which had fixed the attention of Homer. Achilles, inſulted by Agamemnon, withdrew to his camp: his abſence enfeebled the Grecian army, and re-animated the courage of the Trojans, who ſallying from their walls, attacked their enemies, and were almoſt always victors in frequent combats: already were they ſpreading flames

[i] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 32. Pauſan. lib. 9, cap. 9, p. 729.

amid

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amid the ſhips of the Greeks, when Patroclus appeared, clad in the armour of Achilles. Hector attacks him, and he falls; Achilles, who had remained inflexible to all the entreaties of the chiefs of the army, flies again to the field, avenges the death of Patroclus by that of the Trojan general; gives order for the funeral obſequies of his friend, and for a ranſom reſtores to the unhappy Priam the body of his ſon Hector.

Theſe events, happening in the ſpace of a very few days [k], were the conſequence of the anger of Achilles againſt Agamemnon, and formed, in the hiſtory of the ſiege, an epiſode, which might eaſily be detached, and which Homer choſe for the ſubject of his Iliad. In treating it he has obſerved the hiſtorical order; but, to give greater luſtre to his ſubject, has imagined, according to the received ſyſtem of the age, that from the beginning of the war the gods had been divided between the Greeks and Trojans, and, to render his poem more intereſting, has introduced all his characters in action: an artifice

[k] Du Poeme Epique, par Boſſu, liv. ii. p. 269.

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perhaps unknown before his time, which has given birth to the drama[1], and which he again employed in the Odyſſey with the ſame ſucceſs.

More art and knowledge are diſplayed in the latter poem. Ten years had elapſed ſince Ulyſſes had left the ſhores of Ilium. Unjuſt plunderers were diſſipating his property; they were endeavouring to compel his diſconſolate wife to contract a ſecond marriage, and to fix a choice it was no longer in her power to defer. At this moment the ſcene of the Odyſſey opens. Telemachus, the ſon of Ulyſſes, repairs to the continent of Greece, to interrogate Neſtor and Menelaus reſpecting the fate of his father. Whilſt he is at Lacedæmon, Ulyſſes departs from the iſland of Calypſo, and, after a perilous voyage, is caſt away in a tempeſt on the iſle of the Phæacians, contiguous to Ithaca. In an age when commerce had not yet formed connections between different countries, the inhabitants thronged round a ſtranger to hear

[1] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 152. Id. de Repub. lib. 10, t. ii. p. 598 et 607. Ariſt. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655.

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the narrative of his adventures. Ulyſſes, preſſed to ſatisfy a court in which ignorance and a taſte for the marvellous were exceſſive, recounts the prodigies he has beheld, moves their pity by the recital of his ſufferings, and obtains ſuccours to return into his dominions. He arrives, diſcovers himſelf to his ſon, and concerts with him efficacious meaſures to revenge themſelves of their common enemies.

The action of the Odyſſey laſts but forty days [m]; but, by means of the plan he has adopted, Homer has found the ſecret of deſcribing all the circumſtances of the return of Ulyſſes; of relating many particulars of the ſiege of Troy; and diſplaying the knowledge he had himſelf acquired in his travels. He appears to have compoſed this work in an advanced age; ſome have imagined they diſcovered this in the multiplicity of his narrations, as alſo in the mild and tranquil character of the principal perſonages, and a cer-

[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, t. ii. p. 389.

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tain gentle warmth reſembling that of the ſetting ſun [n].

Though it was certainly the object of Homer to pleaſe more eſpecially the age in which he lived, the moral of the Iliad clearly is, that nations are always ſacrificed to the diviſions of their leaders; and that of the Odyſſey, that prudence, united with courage, triumphs, ſooner or later, over the greateſt obſtacles.

The Iliad and Odyſſey were ſcarcely known in Greece, when Lycurgus appeared in Ionia [o]; the genius of the poet ſpoke inſtantly to the genius of the legiſlator. Lycurgus diſcovered leſſons of wiſdom, where ordinary men ſaw nothing but pleaſing fictions [p]. He copied the two poems, and with them enriched his country; from whence they were communicated to all the Greeks. Actors appeared, known by the name of rhapſodiſts [q], who detached ſelected paſſages from them, and travelled over Greece, delighted to hear them repeat their parts. One

[n] Longin. de Subl. cap. 9.
[o] Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.
[p] Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 41.
[q] Schol. Pind. in Nem. od. 2, v. 1.

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ſang the valour of Diomede; another the farewell of Andromache; and others the death of Patroclus and of Hector [r].

The reputation of Homer ſeemed to increaſe with the diviſion and diſtribution of his verſes; but the texture of his poems was inſenſibly deſtroyed; and as their parts, from being too much ſeparated, were in danger of loſing their connection with the whole, Solon prohibited ſeveral rhapſodiſts, when aſſembled, from taking at hazard detached paſſages from the writings of Homer, ordaining that in their recitals they ſhould follow the order obſerved by the author, ſo that one ſhould take up the ſubject where the other finiſhed [s].

This regulation provided againſt one danger, but ſuffered another of ſtill greater conſequence to ſubſiſt. The poems of Homer, abandoned to the enthuſiaſm and ignorance of thoſe by whom they were publicly ſung or commented on, daily underwent new corruptions in the recital; they ſuffered

[r] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13, cap. 14. Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.

[s] Laert. in Solon. lib. 1, § 57.

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conſiderable loſſes, and were loaded with interpolations. Piſiſtratus, and his ſon Hipparchus [t], undertook to reſtore the text to its originalpurity; they conſulted ſkilful grammarians, offered rewards to every perſon who ſhould produce any authentic fragment of the Iliad and Odyſſey, and after a long and arduous labour, gave complete copies of theſe two noble poems to the admiring Greeks, equally aſtoniſhed at the ingenuity of their plans and the beauties of their execution. Hipparchus likewiſe ordered that the verſes of Homer ſhould be ſung at the feſtival of the Panathenæa, in the order preſcribed by the law of Solon [u].

Poſterity, which cannot eſtimate the glory of kings and heroes by their actions, hears as it were from far the reſounding fame of their immortal deeds, and re-echoes it to following times. But the reputation of an au-

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[t] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 34, t. i. p. 312. Pauſan. lib. 7, cap. 26, p. 594. Meurſ. in Piſiſtrat. cap. 9 et 12. Allat. de Patr Homer. cap. 5.

[u] Plat. in Hipparc. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8, cap. 2, not. Periz. ibid. Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 161.

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thor, whoſe writings ſtill ſubſiſt, muſt be the reſult of the ſucceſſive judgments which conſecutive ages have pronounced in his favour. The glory of Homer, it is to be remembered, has increaſed in proportion as his works have become better known, and his readers more capable of appreciating their real worth. The Greeks have never been ſo learned and polite as they are at this day, and never were they impreſſed with ſo profound an admiration for that poet. His name is in every mouth, and his portrait before every eye; ſeveral cities diſpute the honour of having given him birth [x]; others have dedicated temples to him [y]: the Argives, who invoke him in their holy ceremonies, ſend an annual ſacrifice into the iſle of Chios in his honour [z]. His verſes reſound through all Greece, and are the brighteſt ornament of her ſplendid feſtivals. In them youth finds its firſt inſtructions [a]: from them Æſchylus [b],

[x] Aul. Gell. lib. 3, cap. 11. Strab. lib. 14, p. 645. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 24.
[y] Strab. lib. 14, p. 646.
[z] Certam. Homer. et Heſiod.
[a] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 1, p. 145. Id. in lib. 2, p. 263.
[b] Athen. lib. 8, cap. 8, p. 347.

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Sophocles[c], Archilochus, Herodotus, Demoſthenes[d], Plato[e], and the moſt eſteemed authors, have drawn the greater part of the beauties that abound in their writings; and by them the ſculptor Phidias[f], and the painter Euphranor[g], were taught worthily to repreſent the awful majeſty of the ſovereign of the gods. How wondrous then is this man, who inſtructs legiſlators in the ſcience of politics; who teaches philoſophers and hiſtorians the art of writing, and poets and orators that of moving the paſſions; who diſcloſes and expands every talent[h], and whoſe ſuperiority is ſo univerſally acknowledged, that we are no more jealous of his pre-eminence, than of the ſun by which we are enlightened!

I am aware that Homer muſt more eſpe-

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[c] Valken. Diatr. in Eurip. Hippol. p. 92.

[d] Longin. de Sublim. cap. 13. Dionyſ. Halicar. Epiſt. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 772.

[e] Panæt. ap. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1, cap. 32, t. ii. p. 260.

[f] Strab. lib. 8, p. 354. Plut. in Æmil. t. i. p. 270. Val. Max. lib. 3, cap. 7. extern. No. 4.

[g] Euſtath. ad Iliad. lib. 1, p. 145.

[h] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. t. v. cap. 16, p. 97. Id. ibid. cap. 24, p. 187. Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 10, c. 1, p. 628.

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cially-intereſt his own nation. The principal houſes of Greece think they diſcover in his works the titles of their origin; and the different ſtates, the epocha of their greatneſs. Frequently his teſtimony has even ſufficed to determine the ancient limits of two neighbouring nations [i]. But this merit, which he might poſſeſs in common with many authors now conſigned to oblivion, never could produce the enthuſiaſm excited by his poems; many other ſprings muſt have operated to obtain him among the Greeks the empire of the mind.

I am but a Scythian; and the harmony of Homer's verſes, that harmony which tranſports the enraptured Greeks, frequently eſcapes my unpoliſhed organs: but I am no longer maſter of my admiration, when I ſee this lofty genius, hovering, if I may ſo ſpeak, over the univerſe; darting on every ſide his ardent glances, and collecting thoſe flames and colours with which all objects ſparkle in his ſight; entering the council of the

[i] Euſtath. in Homer. t. 2, p. 263.

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gods; fathoming the receſſes of the human heart; and quickly, rich with his diſcoveries, intoxicated with the beauties of nature, and, no longer able to ſupport the ardour that conſumes him, diſtributing it with profuſion in his deſcriptions and expreſſions, making heaven contend with earth, and the paſſions ſtrive for maſtery with each other; dazzling us by thoſe ſtrokes of light which appertain only to ſuperior talents; hurrying us away by thoſe ſallies of ſentiment that conſtitute the true ſublime, and ever leaving a profound impreſſion which ſeems to expand and ennoble the ſoul. For what above all diſtinguiſhes Homer, is the power of animating every thing [k], and of perpetually communicating to us the emotions with which he is himſelf agitated; it is the ſkill with which he renders every other ſubordinate to the leading paſſion; following it through all its tranſports, its extravagancies, and incongruities; elevating it to the clouds, and again precipitating it, when neceſſary, from

[k] Ariſt. de Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 595.

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its height, by the force of ſentiment and virtue, as the flames of Ætna are daſhed by the wind to the bottom of the abyſs: it is the felicity with which he has ſeized great characters, the ſkill with which he has diverſified the power, the bravery, and other qualities of his perſonages, not by cold and faſtidious deſcriptions, but by rapid and vigorous ſtrokes of pencil, or by novel fictions ſcattered as it were fortuitouſly through his works. I mount with him into the heavens: I diſcover Venus in all her beauty, by that girdle inceſſantly emitting the fires of love, impatient deſire, ſeductive graces, and the inexpreſſible charms of language and the eyes [l]; I recognize Pallas and her furies, by that ægis on which are ſuſpended terror, diſcord, violence, and the tremendous head of the horrid gorgon [m]. Jupiter and Neptune are the moſt powerful of the gods; but Neptune muſt have a trident to ſhake the earth [n]; and Jupiter his nod to make Olym-

[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 14, v. 215.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 5, v. 738.
[n] Id. Odyſſ. lib. 4, v. 506.

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pus tremble [o]. I descend to earth: Achilles, Ajax, and Diomedes, are the most formidable of the Greeks; but Diomedes retires at the sight of the Trojan army [p]; Ajax does not give way till he has several times repulsed it [q]; Achilles shews himself, and it disappears [r].

These differences are not contrasted in the sacred books of the Greeks, for so the Iliad and Odyssey may be termed. The poet had given a solid basis to his models; he detached at pleasure those discriminating shades, and had them present before his mind, at the very instant he was bestowing on his characters some momentary variations; for, in fact, art alone attributes a constant unity to characters, nature produces none which do not occasionally differ from themselves in the various occurrences of life.

Plato did not find sufficient dignity in the grief of Achilles, nor in that of Priam, when

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[o] Iliad. lib. 1, v. 530.
[p] Iliad. lib. 5, v. 605.
[q] Iliad. lib. 11, v. 565.
[r] Iliad. lib. 18, v. 228.

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the former rolls himſelf in the duſt after the death of Patroclus, and when the latter has recourſe to a humiliating action to obtain the dead body of his ſon [a]. But how ſtrange is that dignity which ſtifles the feelings of nature! For my part, I commend Homer for having, like nature, placed weakneſs by the ſide of ſtrength, and the abyſs by the ſide of elevation; I commend him ſtill more for having ſhewn me the beſt of fathers in the moſt powerful of kings, and the tendereſt of friends in the moſt impetuous of heroes.

I have known the poet blamed for the inſolent and abuſive language which he puts into the mouth of his heroes, both in their aſſemblies and in the heat of battle: I then caſt my eyes on children who approach much nearer to nature than ourſelves, on the vulgar always in a ſtate of childhood, on ſavages who are always the vulgar; and have obſerved in all theſe, that their anger conſtantly expreſſes itſelf in inſolence and outrage, previous to producing any other effect.

[a] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 388.

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I have heard Homer cenſured for having painted in all their ſimplicity the manners of the times that preceded him; I ſmiled at the criticiſm, and was ſilent.

But when it is alleged againſt him as a crime, that he has degraded the gods, I content myſelf with relating the anſwer made me one day by an intelligent Athenian. Homer, ſaid he, aſcribed to the gods the infirmities of men, according to the poetical ſyſtem of his time [t]. Ariſtophanes has ſince exhibited them on our theatre [u], and our fathers applauded that licence: the moſt ancient theologians have ſaid that men and gods had one common origin [x], and almoſt in our own days Pindar has held the ſame language [y]. It was never imagined, then, that theſe gods could be ſubſtitutes for the idea we entertain of the Divinity; and in fact genuine philoſophy admits a Supreme Being ſuperior to them, who has delegated

[t] Ariſt. de Poet. cap. 25, t. ii. p. 673.
[u] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 617; in Plut. v. 1120; in Ran. &c.
[x] Heſiod. Theogon. v. 126, &c. Vide etiam Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 700.
[y] Pind. in Nem. od. 6, v. 1. Schol. ibid.

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to them his power. It is that Being whom men of underſtanding adore in ſecret: the multitude addreſs their prayers, and ſometimes their complaints to thoſe who repreſent him; and poets in general are like the ſubjects of the king of Perſia, who proſtrate themſelves before the ſovereign, and inveigh againſt his miniſters.

Let thoſe who are unmoved by the beauties of Homer dwell on his defects. For why diſſemble the truth? He frequently repoſes, and ſometimes ſlumbers; but his is the repoſe of the eagle, who, after viſiting his vaſt domains of air, drops, oppreſſed with fatigue, upon a lofty mountain; and his ſlumber reſembles that of Jupiter, who, according to Homer himſelf, hurls his thunder when he awakes [z].

Whoever ſhall judge of Homer not by frigid reaſonings but by his feelings, not by rules too often arbitrary but according to the immutable laws of nature, will undoubtedly be convinced, that he merits all the ho-

[z] Iliad. lib. 15, v. 377.

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nours laviſhed on him by the Greeks, and that his works are the greateſt ornament of the ages whoſe hiſtory I have been abridging.

PART II.

IT is not until about one hundred and fifty years after the firſt Olympiad that the hiſtory of the Athenians, properly ſpeaking, begins. It therefore compriſes only three hundred years, if brought down to the preſent time; and about two hundred and twenty, if concluded at the taking of Athens. In this ſeries of years it is eaſy to diſcover certain important intervals, which mark the riſe, progreſs, and decline of their empire. If I may be allowed to diſtinguiſh theſe æras by characteriſtic names, I ſhall call the firſt the age of Solon, or of the laws; the ſecond the age of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides, or the age of glory; the third that of Pericles, or the age of luxury and the arts.

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SECT.

THE AGE OF SOLON *.

THE form of government eſtabliſhed by Theſeus had undergone material alterations: the people ſtill poſſeſſed the right of aſſembling; but the ſovereign power reſided in the hands of the wealthy[a]. The republic was governed by nine archons or annual magiſtrates [b], who did not enjoy their power long enough to abuſe it; and who, in fact, had not ſufficient authority to maintain the tranquillity of the ſtate.

The inhabitants of Attica were ſeparated into three factions, each of which had at its head one of the moſt ancient families of Athens. Divided as they all were by intereſt, diverſity of character, and ſituation, it was impoſſible for them to agree in the choice of

* From the year 630, to the year 490 before J. Chriſt.
[a] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 336.
[b] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 126.

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a form of government. The pooreſt and moſt independent, confined to the adjacent mountains, favoured a democracy; the wealthieſt, diſperſed over the plain, wiſhed for an oligarchy; while the inhabitants of the coaſts, engaged in maritime and commercial affairs, were for a mixed government, which might ſecure their poſſeſſions, without proving injurious to public liberty [c].

To this ſource of diviſions, each party united the inveterate hatred of the poor againſt the rich. Obſcure citizens, overwhelmed with debts, had no reſource but that of ſelling their liberty, or that of their children, to mercileſs creditors; and the greateſt part of them had determined to abandon a country which held out only ineffectual labour to ſome of them; and eternal ſlavery, and the ſacrifice of every ſentiment of nature, to the remainder [d].

An inconſiderable number of laws, almoſt as ancient as the ſtate, and generally

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[c] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 59. Plut. in Solon. p. 85.
[d] Plut. in Solon. p. 85.

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known by the name of Royal Laws [e], were found to be insufficient, since from the growth of knowledge, new sources of industry, new necessities and vices were diffused through society. Licentiousness was either passed over with impunity, or reprehended by arbitrary punishments. The life and fortune of individuals were left at the discretion of magistrates, who, subjected to no certain limitations, were but too much disposed to listen to their prepossessions or their interests.

In this confusion which menaced the state with immediate destruction, Draco was made choice of, with full powers to exercise the whole of legislation, in its most extensive or circumstantial views. The particulars of his private life are little known to us; but he has left the reputation of a man of worth, possessed of real knowledge, and sincerely attached to his country [f]. Other strokes of character might perhaps embellish his eulogium, but are not necessary to his

[e] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 856. Meurs. in Them. Attic. cap. 36.
[f] Aul. Gell. lib. 11, cap. 18. Suid. in Dracon.

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memory. Like all preceding and subsequent legislators, he formed a code of laws and morals; he took the citizen at the moment of his birth, prescribed the manner of his earliest education [g], followed him through the different stages of his life, and, connecting these partial views with the main object, flattered himself he should be able to form free men, and virtuous citizens: but he only produced malecontents, and his regulations excited so many murmurs, that he was compelled to take refuge in the island of Ægina, where he soon after died.

His laws were strongly impressed with the peculiarity of his character; they were as severe as his manners had ever been rigid [h]. Death was the chastisement he inflicted on idleness, and the only punishment he decreed for the slightest offences, as well as for the most atrocious crimes: he was accustomed to say that he knew of none milder

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[g] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 261.

[h] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 337. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 2, cap. 23, t. ii. p. 579.

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for the former, and could deviſe no other for the latter[i]. It ſeems as if his powerful mind, virtuous even to exceſs, was incapable of any indulgence for crimes at which it revolted, or for thoſe weakneſſes over which it triumphed without an effort. Perhaps too he was of opinion that, in the path of vice, the firſt ſtep inevitably leads to the moſt dreadful precipices.

As he had not attempted any change in the form of government[k], the inteſtine diviſions augmented from day to day. One of the principal citizens, named Cylon, formed the project of ſeizing on the ſovereign authority: he was beſieged in the citadel, where he long defended himſelf, and at length wanting proviſions, and deſtitute of every hope of ſuccour, eluded, by flight, the puniſhment due to his crime. His followers took refuge in the temple of Minerva: from which aſylum they were enticed by the promiſe of life, and inſtantly

[i] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.
[k] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 337.

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maſſacred *. Some of theſe unfortunate men were murdered even on the altars of the awful Eumenides [1].

The indignation excited by this action was univerſal; the people at once execrated the perfidy and ſhuddered at the impiety of the victors: and the whole city expected that ſome dreadful calamity would be immediately inflicted by celeſtial vengeance. Amidſt this general conſternation, news was brought that the city of Niſæa, and the iſle of Salamis had fallen by the arms of the Megareans.

To this melancholy intelligence ſucceeded ſoon after an epidemical diſtemper. The public imagination, already agitated, was ſuddenly ſeized with panic terrors, and haunted by a thouſand terrifying chimæras. The augurs and oracles being conſulted, declared that the city, polluted by the profanation of the holy places, muſt be purified by the ceremonies of expiation.

The Athenians therefore ſent to Crete

* The year 612 before Chriſt.

[1] Thucydid. lib. 1, cap. 126. Plut. in Solon. p. 84.

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for Epimenides [m], conſidered in his time as a man who had an intercourſe with the gods, and who ſaw into futurity; though at preſent he would be only eſteemed a fanatic poſſeſſed of knowledge, capable of ſeducing by his talents, and of commanding reſpect by the ſeverity of his manners; ſkilful more eſpecially in explaining dreams, and the moſt obſcure preſages [n], and in diſcerning future events in the cauſes which were to produce them [o]. The Cretans ſay, that when young, he was ſeized in a cavern with a profound ſleep, which, according to ſome, laſted forty years [p]; and much longer, according to others [q]: they add, that on his awaking, aſtoniſhed at the changes in every thing he ſaw, and driven from his father's houſe as an impoſtor, he was not acknowledged, till after he had given the moſt ſatisfactory proofs of the juſtneſs of his claims. The meaning of this whole ſtory muſt be, that

[m] Plato. de Legib. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 642.
[n] Ariſt. de Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 17, t. ii. p. 505.
[o] Plut. in Solon. p. 84. Laert. in Epim. lib. 1, § 114.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 14, p. 35.
[q] Plut. t. ii. p. 784. Laert. in Epim. lib. 1, § 110.

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Epimenides paſſed the firſt years of his youth in ſolitary places, wholly abſorbed in the ſtudy of nature, forming his imagination to enthuſiaſm [r], by faſting, ſilence, and meditation, without any other ambition, than by making himſelf acquainted with the will of the gods, to ſecure his dominion over the minds of men. His ſucceſs ſurpaſſed his hopes, and he acquired ſuch a reputation for wiſdom and ſanctity, that in times of public calamity [s], nations entreated from him the favour of purifying them by rites, which, as they alleged, he could render more acceptable to the divinity.

Athens received him with tranſports of hope and fear *. He directed that new temples and new altars ſhould be built to immolate the victims he had choſen, and that theſe ſacrifices ſhould be accompanied by certain hymns [t]. As while ſpeaking he

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[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 84. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1, c. 18, t. iii. p. 16.

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 14, p. 35.

* Towards the year 597 before Chriſt. See note at the end of the volume.

[t] Strab. lib. 10, p. 479.

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ſeemed agitated with a divine inſpiration[u], his impetuous eloquence was irreſiſtible. He availed himſelf of the aſcendency he had acquired to effect ſeveral changes in the religious ceremonies then in uſe; and in this reſpect he may be eſteemed one of the legiſlators of Athens. He rendered theſe ceremonies leſs expenſive[x]; he aboliſhed the barbarous practice of the women who cut and disfigured their faces while accompanying the dead to the tomb; and, by a multitude of uſeful regulations, endeavoured to bring back the Athenians to the true principles of ſocial union and juſtice.

The confidence he had inſpired, and the time neceſſary for complying with his directions, inſenſibly calmed the minds of the people: the phantoms diſappeared, and Epimenides departed, covered with glory, and honoured with the regret of a whole nation; he refuſed conſiderable preſents, and only demanded for himſelf a branch of

[u] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1, c. 18, t. iii. p. 16.
[x] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 84.

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the olive conſecrated to Minerva, and the friendſhip of the Athenians for Cnoſſus his country [y].

Soon after his departure, the factions again revived with redoubled fury; and their exceſſes were carried to ſuch a height, as quickly to reduce them to that extremity, which leaves no other alternative to a ſtate, but to incur certain ruin, or ſubmit to be guided by the genius of a ſingle man.

Solon was therefore unanimouſly raiſed to the dignity of firſt magiſtrate, legiſlator, and ſovereign arbiter *. He was urged to mount the throne; but as he was doubtful whether it would be eaſy to deſcend from it, he reſiſted at once the reproaches of his friends, and the entreaties of the leaders of the factions, and of the wiſer part of the citizens [z].

Solon was deſcended from the ancient kings of Athens [a]; from his earlieſt youth

[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 642. Plut. ibid. Laert. lib. 1, § 111.

* Towards the year 594 before Chriſt.

[z] Plut. in Solon. p. 85.

[a] Id. ibid. p. 78.

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he had applied himſelf to commerce, either to repair the injuries which the liberality of his father had done to the fortune of his family, or to become acquainted with the manners and laws of different nations. After acquiring ſufficient property in that profeſſion, to place himſelf beyond the reach of want, and to render unneceſſary the generous offers of his friends, he continued to purſue his travels, with the ſole view of increaſing his ſtock of knowledge [b].

The learning of that time was in the poſſeſſion of a few virtuous men, known by the name of ſages, and diſperſed through the different diſtricts of Greece. The ſole object of their ſtudy was man, what he is, what he ought to be, and in what manner he may beſt be inſtructed and governed. They collected the ſmall number of moral and political truths, and compriſed them in maxims ſufficiently clear to be comprehended at the firſt glance, and preciſe enough to be, or to appear profound. Each of

[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 79.

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them ſelected one of theſe in preference, which became as it were his device and the ſtandard of his conduct: "Too much of "nothing," ſaid one; "Know thyſelf," ſaid another [c]. This conciſeneſs and accuracy which the Spartans have retained in their ſtyle, was common in the anſwers formerly given by the ſages to the frequent queſtions of kings and individuals. United by a friendſhip never diminiſhed by their celebrity, they ſometimes aſſembled at the ſame place, to communicate their obſervations, and to conſult together for the intereſts of mankind [d].

In theſe auguſt aſſemblies appeared Thales of Miletus, who was at that time laying the foundation of a more general, but perhaps leſs uſeful philoſophy; Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus of Lindus, Myſon of Chena, Chilo of Lacedæmon, and Solon of Athens, the moſt illuſtrious of them all [e]. Nor will the ties of

[c] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343.
[d] Plut. in Solon. p. 80. Laert. in Thal. lib. 1, § 40.
[e] Plat ibid. Plut. ibid.

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consanguinity, or the memory of the places that gave me birth, permit me to forget Anacharsis, brought by the rumour of his celebrity from the most distant part of Scythia, and whom Greece, jealous as she is of the merit of foreigners, sometimes places in the number of the sages she reveres [f].

To the information which Solon derived from his intercourse with these great men he had united distinguished talents. He was born with a genius for poetry, which he cultivated to his extreme old age, but always without an effort, and without arrogance. His early essays were only works of recreation. In his other writings, we find hymns in honour of the gods, various allusions intended to justify his legislation, counsels or reproaches addressed to the Athenians [g]; almost every where a pure morality, and beauties disclosing genius. In the later years of his life, having obtained an inti-

[f] Hermip. ap. Laert. lib. 1, § 41.
[g] Plut. in Solon. p. 80. Laert. in Solon. § 47.

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mate acquaintance with the traditions of the Egyptians, he had undertaken to deſcribe, in a poem, the revolutions which have happened on our globe, and the wars of the Athenians with the inhabitants of the iſland of Atlantis, ſituated beyond the pillars of Hercules, and ſince ſwallowed up by the ocean [h]. If, free from every other care, he had, in a leſs advanced age, treated a ſubject ſo adapted to diſplay the vigour of his imagination, he might perhaps have participated in the glory of Homer and of Heſiod [i].

He may be reproached with not having ſhewn a ſufficient enmity to riches, though he was not anxious to acquire them; with having ſometimes expreſſed himſelf concerning pleaſure in a manner not the moſt worthy of a philoſopher [k], and of not obſerving in his conduct that auſterity of manners, which becomes the reformer of a nation.

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[h] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 113.
[i] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 21.
[k] Plut. in Solon. p. 79.

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It ſhould ſeem as if his mild and eaſy character only deſtined him to lead a peaceful life in the boſom of the arts and innocent enjoyments.

Yet we muſt allow, that on certain occaſions he proved himſelf neither deficient in vigour nor in conſtancy. He it was who engaged the Athenians to recover the iſle of Salamis, in defiance of the rigorous injunction they had laid on their orators, not even to propoſe its conqueſt[1]: and his ſuperior courage ſeemed more eſpecially diſtinguiſhed in the firſt act of authority he exerciſed when at the head of the republic.

The poor, determined to riſque every thing to eſcape from oppreſſion, loudly demanded a new partition of the lands, preceded by an abolition of debts. The rich oppoſed with the ſame ardour claims which would have confounded them with the multitude, and, according to them, muſt inevitably have overturned the ſtate. In

[1] Plut. in Solon. p. 82.

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this extremity, Solon abolished the debts of individuals, annulled all the acts which fettered the liberty of the citizen, and refused to equalize the distribution of the lands[m]. Both rich and poor thought that all was lost, because they had not obtained all; but when the former found themselves still peaceable possessors of the estates they had inherited from their ancestors, or which they had themselves acquired; when the latter, for ever released from the dread of slavery, saw their little patrimonies freed from every species of servitude; when industry, in fine, was seen to flourish, confidence to be re-established, and a number of unfortunate citizens, whom the severity of creditors had driven from their country, were encouraged to return; their murmurs gave place to sentiments of gratitude, and the people, admiring the wisdom of their legislator, added new powers to those with which they already had invested him.

[m] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

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He availed himſelf of theſe to reviſe the laws of Draco, the abolition of which was demanded by the Athenians. Thoſe reſpecting homicide were preſerved unrepealed [n], and they are ſtill enforced by the tribunals, where the name of Draco is never pronounced but with the veneration due to the benefactors of mankind [o].

Emboldened by ſucceſs, Solon completed the work of his legiſlation. He firſt regulated the form of government, and next enacted laws to ſecure the tranquillity of the citizen. His principle was in the firſt part of his plan to eſtabliſh that equality, which alone ought to ſubſiſt between the different orders of the ſtate in a republic [p]; and in the ſecond he was guided by the maxim that the beſt government is that in which is found a wiſe diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments [q].

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[n] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.
[o] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 805. Æſchin. in Timarc. p. 261.
[p] Solon, ap. Plut. ibid. p. 88.
[q] Cicer. Epiſt. 15, ad Brutum, t. ix. p. 115.

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Solon, preferring the popular form of government to every other, beſtowed his firſt attention on three eſſential objects; the aſſembly of the nation, the choice of magiſtrates, and the tribunals of juſtice.

It was determined that the ſupreme power ſhould reſide in the aſſemblies, at which every citizen ſhould have a right to be preſent[r], and where all ordinances reſpecting peace, war, alliances, laws, impoſts, and all the great intereſts of the ſtate, ſhould originate[s].

But what will become of thoſe intereſts, in the hands of a giddy and ignorant multitude, who forget what they ſhould vote for during the deliberation, and the voice they have given when the deliberation is at an end[t]? To direct them in their deciſions, Solon inſtituted a ſenate compoſed of four hundred perſons, choſen from the four tribes, compriſing at that time all the citizens of

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[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[s] Ariſt. de Rhet. ad Alex. c. 3, t. ii. p. 612.
[t] Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 314.

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Attica [u]. These four hundred persons might be considered as the deputies and representatives of the state. It was ordained that all affairs on which the people were finally to pronounce should be first proposed to them, and that after examining and discussing these propositions at their leisure, they should themselves report them to the general assembly; and hence the fundamental law, that every decision of the people shall be preceded by a decree of the senate [x].

Since all the citizens have the right of being present at the assembly, they must possess that of giving their suffrages. But there would be reason to fear, that after the report of the senate, inexperienced men might suddenly take possession of the rostrum, and mislead the multitude. The first impressions they are to receive therefore must be previously prepared, and hence it was regulated that the first suffrages should

[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

[x] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 541. Id. in Androt. p. 699. Liban. in Androt. p. 696. Plut. ibid. Harpocrat. in προβουλ.

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be given by men who had paſſed the fiftieth year of their age [y].

In certain republics a ſet of men aroſe who devoted themſelves to the profeſſion of haranguing; and experience had ſhewn that their voices had frequently more weight in popular aſſemblies than the power of the laws [z]. It was neceſſary to guard againſt their eloquence, and integrity of character was deemed a ſufficient ſecurity againſt abuſes in the exerciſe of their talents. It was ordained, that no orator ſhould be permitted to intermeddle in public affairs, until his moral conduct had undergone a careful ſcrutiny; and every citizen was allowed to proceed judicially againſt the orator who ſhould have found the ſecret of concealing the irregularity of his manners from the ſeverity of this enquiry [a].

After providing for the mode in which the ſupreme power was to make known its will, magiſtrates muſt be choſen to carry

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[y] Æſchin. in Timarc. p. 264.
[z] Plut. in Conv. t. ii. p. 154.
[a] Æſchin. ibid. Harpocr. et Suidas, in ῥητορ. γραφ.

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that will into execution. In whom reſides the power of conferring the offices of magiſtracy? On what perſons; how; and for what time; with what reſtrictions muſt they be conferred? On all theſe points, the inſtitutions of Solon appear conformable to the true ſpirit of a wiſe democracy.

The functions of the magiſtracy, in this government, are ſo important, that the nomination to offices can only be veſted in the ſovereign power. Did not the people poſſeſs, as far as practicable, the right of diſpoſing of them, and of keeping a vigilant eye over the manner in which they are exerciſed, they would be enſlaved, and conſequently become enemies of the ſtate [b]. Solon left therefore to the general aſſembly the power of chooſing the magiſtrates, and that of requiring from them an account of their adminiſtration [c].

In the Grecian democracies in general every citizen, even the pooreſt, may aſpire

[b] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2, c. 12, t. ii. p. 336.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 3, c. 11, p. 350; lib. 6, c. 4, p. 416.

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to the magiſtracy [d]. But Solon thought it more prudent to leave this privilege in the hands of the rich, who had hitherto poſſeſſed it [e]. He diſtributed the citizens of Attica into four claſſes. They were enrolled in the firſt, ſecond, and third of theſe claſſes, accordingly as they received from their reſpective patrimonies, five, three, or two hundred meaſures of corn or oil. The other citizens, for the moſt part poor and ignorant, were compriſed in the fourth, and removed from all political employments [f]. Had they poſſeſſed the hope of attaining theſe offices, they would have been leſs reſpectable in their eyes; had they in fact attained them, what could have been expected from ſuch magiſtrates [g]?

It is eſſential to a democracy, that the offices of the magiſtracy ſhould be granted only for a time, and that thoſe at leaſt which require only a certain degree of capacity

[d] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5, c. 8, p. 399; lib. 6, c. 2, p. 414.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2, c. 12, p. 336.
[f] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[g] Ariſt. ibid. lib. 3. c. 11, p. 359.

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ſhould be left to the diſpoſal of fortune [h]. Solon ordered therefore that all offices ſhould be annual; that the principal dignities ſhould, as heretofore, be conferred by the election of the people [i], and that the others ſhould be drawn for by lot [k].

In fine, the nine chief magiſtrates, preſiding, in quality of archons, in the tribunals before which the cauſes of individuals were tried, it was to be feared leſt their power might give them too much influence over the multitude. Solon determined that appeals might lie from their ſentence to the ſuperior courts [l].

It now remained to fill theſe courts of juſtice. We have ſeen that the laſt and moſt numerous claſs of citizens were excluded from any ſhare in the magiſtracy. Such an excluſion, always humiliating in a popular ſtate, would have been infinitely dangerous [m], if the citizens who la-

[h] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 6, c. 2, p. 414.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 2, c. 12.
[k] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 63.
[l] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[m] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 3, c. 11, t. ii. p. 350.

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boured under this incapacity had not received ſome indemnification, and if they had ſeen the diſcuſſion of their intereſts and rights excluſively poſſeſſed by the rich. Solon ordained that all, without diſtinction, might become candidates to fill the place of judges, and that chance ſhould be the arbiter between them [n].

To render durable theſe regulations, eſſential to the eſtabliſhment of a kind of equilibrium between the different claſſes of citizens, it was neceſſary to confide their conſervation to a body of men, whoſe places ſhould be for life; who ſhould have no part in the adminiſtration, and who might impreſs on the minds of the people a profound reſpect for their wiſdom. Athens poſſeſſed in the Areopagus a tribunal which attracted the confidence and love of nations, by its knowledge and integrity [o]. Solon having entruſted to its vigilance the maintenance of the laws and of morals, eſtabliſhed it as a ſuperior

[n] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2, c. 12, p. 336. Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 832.

[o] Meurſ. Areop. c. 4.

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power, whoſe duty it was inceſſantly to recall the people to the principles of the conſtitution, and individuals to the rules of duty and decorum. Still more to increaſe the public veneration for this tribunal, and to render it thoroughly acquainted with the intereſts of the republic, he enacted that the archons, on going out of office, ſhould, after a ſevere examination, be enrolled in the number of ſenators.

Thus did the ſenate of the Areopagus, and that of the four hundred, become two counterpoiſes ſufficiently powerful to ſecure the republic againſt the ſtorms from which all ſtates are inceſſantly in danger [p]; the former, by repreſſing the enterpriſes of the rich by its general cenſure; and the latter, by reſtraining by its decrees and its preſence the exceſſes of the multitude.

New laws were enacted in ſupport of theſe regulations. The conſtitution might be attacked either by the general factions which had ſo long agitated the different orders of

[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88.

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the ſtate, or by the ambition and intrigues of certain individuals.

To guard againſt theſe dangers, Solon denounced puniſhments againſt thoſe citizens who, in time of public commotion, refuſed openly to declare for one of the parties [q]. His view, in this admirable inſtitution, was to rouſe men of merit and integrity from a ſtate of fatal inactivity; to oppoſe them to the factious, and ſave the republic by the courage and aſcendency of virtue.

By a ſecond law every citizen convicted of having attempted to make himſelf maſter of the ſovereign authority was condemned to death [r].

Laſtly, in the caſe of an attempt to erect another government on the ruins of the popular form, this wiſe legiſlator could imagine but one method to reanimate the nation, and that was by obliging the magiſtrates to reſign their employments; and hence this ſtern and menacing decree: It

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q Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 89. Aul. Gell. lib. 2, c. 12.
r Id. t. i. p. 110.

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ſhall be lawful for every citizen, not only to put to death a tyrant and his accomplices, but any magiſtrate who ſhall continue to exerciſe his functions after the deſtruction of the democracy [s].

Such is the epitome of the republic of Solon. I ſhall now take a curſory view of his civil and criminal laws with the ſame rapidity. I have already ſaid that thoſe of Draco reſpecting homicide were retained without the malleſt alteration. Solon aboliſhed all the others, or rather contented himſelf with mitigating their rigour [t], new modelling them with his own, and adapting them to the genius of the Athenians.

His object in all was the general welfare of the republic, rather than the benefit of individuals [u]. Thus, according to his principles, which were perfectly conformable to thoſe of the moſt enlightened philoſophers, the citizen is to be conſidered in his perſon

[s] Andoc. de Myſter. p. 13.
[t] Lyſ. ap. Laert. in Solon. § 55.
[u] Demoſth. in Androt. p. 703.

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as forming part of the ſtate [x]; in the greater part of the obligations he contracts, as appertaining to a family, which itſelf appertains to the ſtate [y]; and in his conduct, as the member of a ſociety, whoſe morals conſtitute the power of that ſtate.

Under the former of theſe aſpects, a citizen may demand ſatisfactory reparation for an outrage on his perſon: but if he be in extreme indigence, how may he be able to depoſite the ſum required to be advanced by the accuſer? He is exempted from it by the laws [z]. But if born in an obſcure condition, who ſhall ſecure him againſt the attacks of the rich and powerful man? All the true friends of the democracy, all thoſe whom probity, intereſt, jealouſy, or revenge have made the enemies of the aggreſſor; all are authorized to proſecute by this admirable law. "If any one ſhall inſult a child, a woman, a free man, or a ſlave, let it be lawful for any Athenian to proſecute

[x] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 8, c. 1, p. 450.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11, p. 923.
[z] Iſocr. in Loch. t. ii, p. 547.

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him [a]." The accuſation will thus become public, and an offence committed againſt the loweſt citizen be puniſhed as a crime againſt the ſtate; and this is founded on the following principle: Force is the lot of ſome, law the ſupport of all [b]. This again is founded on the maxim of Solon: That there would be no acts of injuſtice in a city, were all the citizens to conſider themſelves as directly attacked as thoſe who ſuffer the injury [c].

The liberty of the citizen is ſo precious, that its exerciſe is to be ſuſpended by the laws alone; that he cannot himſelf engage it for debt, or on any pretext whatever [d], nor has he the right of diſpoſing of that of his ſons. The legiſlator allows him to ſell his daughter, or ſiſter, but in the ſingle inſtance, of witneſſing their diſhonour *, when charged with the ſuperintendance of their conduct [e].

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[a] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 610. Iſocr. in Loch. p. 548. Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[b] Demoſth. ibid.
[c] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. Stob. Serm. 41, p. 247 et 268.
[d] Plut. in Solon. p. 86.
* See note III. at the end of the volume.
[e] Ibid. p. 91.

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When an Athenian is guilty of ſelf-murder, he is culpable towards the ſtate, which he deprives of a citizen [f]. His hand is ſeparately interred as a ſtigma on his memory [g]. But ſhould he be the murderer of his father, what puniſhment ſhall the laws preſcribe? They are ſilent concerning this atrocious crime. To inſpire more horror for it, Solon has ſuppoſed ſuch a degeneracy of nature abſolutely impoſſible [h].

The liberty of a citizen would be imperfect, could his honour be attacked with impunity. Hence the penalties denounced againſt calumniators, and the permiſſion to proſecute them [i]; hence too, the prohibition againſt ſullying the memory of a man who is no more [k]. Independent of the ſage policy there is in not perpetuating the hatreds between families, it is unjuſt that a man after death ſhould be expoſed to inſults he would have repelled during his life-time.

[f] Ariſt. de Mor. lib. 5, c. 15, t. ii. p. 73.
[g] Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 467. Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 522.
[h] Cicer. in Roſc. c. 25, t. iv. p. 72. Laert. in Solon. § 59.
[i] Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 535.
[k] Plut. in Solon. p. 89.

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A citizen is not the maſter of his honour, ſince he is not of his life. Hence thoſe laws, which, in various circumſtances, deprive the man, who forfeits his honour, of the privileges appertaining to the citizen.

In other countries, the citizens of the lower claſſes are ſo diſmayed at the obſcurity of their condition, the influence of their adverſaries, the prolixity of legal procedures, and the dangers to which they may be expoſed by them, that they often find it better for them to endure, than to endeavour to defend themſelves againſt oppreſſion. The laws of Solon preſent ſeveral remedies againſt violence or injuſtice. Is the matter in queſtion a robbery, for inſtance[1]; you may yourſelf drag the criminal before the eleven magiſtrates appointed for the guard of the priſons. They will put him in irons, and then bring him before the tribunal, which will condemn you to a penalty if the crime be not proved. Are you not ſtrong enough to ſeize the criminal; apply to the

[1] Demoſth. in Androt. p. 703.

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archons, who will have him dragged to priſon by their lictors. Would you adopt another method; accuſe him publicly. Are you afraid of not being able ſatisfactorily to ſupport this accuſation, and of being ſentenced to pay the penalty of one thouſand drachmas; lodge an information before the tribunal of the arbiters; the cauſe will be converted into a civil action, and you will incur no riſk. Thus has Solon multiplied the powers of each individual, and there is no ſpecies of oppreſſion or injury over which it is not eaſy to triumph.

The greater part of the crimes which attack the ſecurity of the citizen may be proſecuted by a public or private accuſation. In the former caſe, the offended perſon conſiders himſelf only as a ſimple individual, and confines his demands to a reparation proportionate to his particular injuries: in the latter, he preſents himſelf in the quality of citizen, and the crime becomes more ſerious. Solon has facilitated public accuſations, becauſe they are more neceſſary in a democracy,

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democracy, than under any other form of government [m]. But for this formidable check, the general liberty would be perpetually endangered by the liberty of each individual.

Let us now ſee what are the duties of the citizen, in the generality of the obligations he contracts.

In a well regulated republic the number of inhabitants ſhould neither be too great, nor too inconſiderable [n]. Experience has ſhewn that the number of men able to bear arms ought neither greatly to ſurpaſs, nor fall much ſhort of twenty thouſand [o].

To preſerve this juſt proportion, Solon, amongſt other means, does not permit ſtrangers to be naturalized but on conditions difficult to be complied with [p]: on the other

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[m] Machiavel. Diſcorſ. ſopra la prima Decad. di Liv. lib. 1, cap. 7 et 8.

[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 423. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 4, p. 430.

[o] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 112. Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 836. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172. Philoch. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. 9, v. 67. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 716.

[p] Plut. in Solon. p. 91.

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hand, to prevent the extinction of families, he wills that their chiefs ſhould be repreſented after their death by legitimate or adopted children; and in the caſe of an individual dying without iſſue, he ordains that one of his natural heirs ſhall be juridically ſubſtituted for the deceaſed citizen, aſſume his name, and perpetuate his family [q].

The magiſtrate, whoſe office it is to prevent families from remaining without heads, is likewiſe to extend his care and the protection of the laws to orphans; to women who declare their pregnancy after the death of their huſbands; and to girls who, having no brothers, are entitled to claim the inheritance of their anceſtors [r].

Does a citizen adopt a child; the latter may one day return to his paternal houſe; but he muſt leave in the family that adopted him a ſon to accompliſh the views of his original adoption; and this ſon, in his turn, may quit this family, after leaving a natural

[q] Demoſth. in Leoch. p. 1047.
[r] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040.

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or adopted ſon as his ſubſtitute [s]. Theſe precautions were not ſufficient. The chain of generations might be interrupted by diviſions and animoſities between the huſband and wife. Divorces ſhall be permitted, but on conditions which ſhall reſtrain their frequency [t]. If it be the huſband who demands the ſeparation, he expoſes himſelf to reſtore to his wife her dowry, or at leaſt to pay her an alimentary penſion ſettled by the law [u]: if it be the wife, ſhe muſt herſelf appear before the judges, and preſent her requeſt [x].

It is eſſential in a democracy, not only that families ſhould be preſerved, but that eſtates ſhould not be in the hands of a ſmall number of individuals [y]. When they are diſtributed in a certain proportion, the people, poſſeſſed of a few trifling parcels of land, are more occupied with them than with the diſſenſions of the forum. Hence

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[s] Demoſth. in Leoch. p. 1045.
[t] Pet. in Leg. Attic. p. 459.
[u] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 869.
[x] Andocid. in Alcib. p. 30. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.
[y] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 375.

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the prohibitions of ſome legiſlators againſt ſelling the family poſſeſſions, except in caſes of extreme neceſſity [z], or of mortgaging them to procure reſources againſt want [a]. The violation of this principle has ſometimes ſerved to overthrow the conſtitution [b].

Of this principle Solon never has loſt ſight: he has preſcribed limits to the acquiſitions which may be made by individuals [c]; and he has deprived that citizen of part of his rights who has fooliſhly waſted the inheritance of his fathers [d].

An Athenian who has children can only diſpoſe of his property in their favour; if he has none, and dies inteſtate, the ſucceſſion deſcends in a right line to thoſe who are neareſt of kin [e]: if he leaves an only daughter heireſs of his fortune, it is the duty of the neareſt relation to eſpouſe her [f];

[z] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 7, p. 323.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 4, p. 417.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 3, p. 388.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 7, p. 323.
[d] Laert. in Solon. § 55.
[e] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1035.
[f] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 441.

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but he muſt demand her in form of law, that no perſon hereafter may diſpute with him the poſſeſſion. Theſe rights of the next of kin are ſo clearly recognized, that ſhould one of his female relations, previouſly married to an Athenian, ſucceed to the eſtate of her father dead without male iſſue, he is entitled to annul the marriage, and compel her to eſpouſe him [g].

But if this huſband be not in a condition to have children, he will tranſgreſs the law which watches over the perpetuation of families, and offend againſt that which preſerves their property. To puniſh him for this double infraction, Solon permits the wife to beſtow herſelf on the neareſt relation of the huſband [h].

It is with the ſame view that an orphan, the only or the eldeſt daughter of her father, may, if ſhe have no fortune, oblige her neareſt relation to marry, or provide her with a dower: if he refuſes, the orphan

[g] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 444. Herald. Animad. in Salmaſ. lib. 3, cap. 15.
[h] Plut. in Solon. p. 89.

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will compel him under penalty of a fine of one thouſand drachmas [i]. It is from the conſequences of theſe principles likewiſe, that the natural heir is on the one hand incapable of being guardian, and the guardian of eſpouſing the mother of his wards [k]; and that, on the other hand, a brother may marry his half ſiſter by the father, but not his uterine ſiſter [l]. And in fact it would be to be apprehended that an intereſted guardian, or an unnatural mother, might turn to their advantage the property of their wards; there would be ground to fear leſt a brother, by leaguing with his uterine ſiſter, ſhould accumulate in his own perſon both the inheritance of his father and that of the firſt huſband of his mother [m].

All the regulations of Solon reſpecting ſucceſſions, teſtaments, and donations, are dictated by the ſame ſpirit. We muſt not

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[i] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1036.
[k] Laert. in Solon. § 56.
[l] Cornel. Nep. in Præf. Id. in Cim. Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 128; in Cimon. p. 486. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 440.
[m] Eſprit des Lois, liv. 5, chap. 5.

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however overlook that which allows a citizen dying without children to diſpoſe of his property at pleaſure. Some philoſophers have exclaimed, and many perhaps will ſtill exclaim, againſt a law which appears ſo contrary to the principles of the legiſlator [n]. Others juſtify him both by the reſtrictions with which he has clogged the law, and the object he had in view: for he requires that the teſtator ſhall neither be enfeebled by age or ſickneſs; that he ſhall not have yielded to the ſeductions of a wife; that he ſhall not be in bonds, nor have given any ſymptoms of alienation of mind [o]. With all theſe precautions, what reaſon can there be to fear he ſhould chooſe an heir from any other family, if he has no cauſe to complain of his own? It was with a view therefore of exciting reſpect and attention among relations [p], that Solon granted the citizens a permiſſion they had never before poſſeſſed,

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11, p. 922. Eſpr. des Lois, liv. 5, chap. 5.
[o] Demoſth. in Steph. 2, p. 984.
[p] Id. in Lept. p. 556.

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which they received with applauſe [q], and is not naturally liable to abuſe. It muſt be added, that an Athenian who called in a ſtranger to his inheritance, at the ſame time adopted him [r].

The Egyptians have a law, by which each individual muſt give an account of his fortune and the means by which he procures a maintenance [s]. This law is ſtill more uſeful in a democracy, where the people ſhould be neither unemployed, nor gain their livelihood by illicit means [t]: and ſtill more is it neceſſary in a country, where the ſterility of the ſoil can only be compenſated by labour and induſtry [u].

Hence the regulations by which Solon ſtigmatizes idleneſs with infamy [x], and directs the Areopagus to enquire into the mode by which individuals provide for their ſub-

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[q] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[r] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 479.
[s] Herod. lib. 2, cap. 177. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 70.
[t] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 6, cap. 4. Eſpr. des Lois, lib. 5, chap. 6.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[x] Laert. in Solon. § 55. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 6, et cap. 42. Demoſth. in Eubul. p. 887.

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ſiſtence; allows them to exerciſe all the mechanic arts, and deprives the man who neglects to educate his ſon to ſome profeſſion of the aid he ſhould expect from him in his old age [y].

It only remains to mention a few of his regulations relative to the morals of the people.

Solon, after the example of Draco, enacted a number of laws relative to the duties of the citizens, and particularly the education of youth [z]. In them he has foreſeen and provided for every thing, both the preciſe age at which children ſhould receive public leſſons, and the characters and talents of the maſters who are to inſtruct them, the preceptors who are to attend them, and the hours of opening and ſhutting the ſchools; and as theſe places ſhould admit nothing that may taint innocence: Let every man, adds he, be puniſhed with death, who ſhall dare to introduce himſelf without neceſ-

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[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[z] Æſchin. in. Tim. p. 261.

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ſity into the ſanctuary where the children are aſſembled, and let one of the courts of juſtice ſuperintend the obſervance of theſe regulations [a].

At the expiration of infancy they ſhall be removed to the gymnaſium. There the laws ſhall ſtill watch over them to preſerve the purity of their manners, to guard them againſt the contagion of example, and the dangers of ſeduction.

In the various periods of their lives, new paſſions will ſucceed rapidly in their hearts. The legiſlator has multiplied menaces and puniſhments; he aſſigns recompences to virtue, and diſhonour to vice [b].

Thus, the children of thoſe who ſhall die fighting for their country are to be educated at the public expence [c]; and crowns are to be ſolemnly decreed to thoſe who have rendered ſervices to the ſtate.

On the other hand, the citizen become notorious for depravity of manners, whatever

[a] Æſchin in Tim. p. 261.
[b] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 564.
[c] Laert. in Solon. § 55.

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be his condition, or whatever talents he poſſeſſes, ſhall be excluded from the prieſthood, the magiſtracy, the ſenate, and general aſſembly; he ſhall neither be allowed to ſpeak in public, nor undertake an embaſſy, nor have a ſeat in the tribunals of juſtice; and ſhould he exerciſe any of thoſe functions, he ſhall be criminally proſecuted, and ſuffer the rigorous puniſhments preſcribed by law [d].

Cowardice, under whatever form it appears, whether by refuſing military ſervice, or by betraying it by ſome unworthy action, cannot be palliated by the rank of the offender, nor under any pretext: it ſhall be puniſhed not only by general contempt, but by a public accuſation, which will teach the citizen ſtill more to dread the diſgrace inflicted by the law than the ſword of the enemy [e].

The laws have prohibited every kind of ſtudied refinement and delicacy among the

[d] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 263.
[e] Id. in Cteſiph. p. 456.

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men [f], and reſtrain the women, who have ſuch influence on manners, within the bounds of modeſty [g]; they oblige a ſon to maintain in their old age the authors of his being [h]. But children born of a courtezan are exempted from this obligation towards their father, ſince they, in fact, owe to him nothing but the opprobrium of their birth [i].

To maintain theſe manners there muſt be examples; and theſe examples muſt proceed from thoſe who are at the head of government. The greater the height from which they deſcend, the more deep and laſting is their impreſſion. The corruption of the meaner citizens is eaſily repreſſed, and extends its progreſs only in obſcurity; for corruption never aſcends from the lower claſſes to the higher: but when it is daring enough to take poſſeſſion of the ſeat of power, it precipitates itſelf from thence

[f] Athen. lib. 15, p. 687.
[g] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[h] Laert. in Solon. § 55.
[i] Plut. ibid.

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with more force than the laws themſelves can exert; it has accordingly been boldly advanced, that the manners of a nation depend ſolely on thoſe of the ſovereign [k].

Solon was perſuaded that no leſs decency and ſanctity were neceſſary in the adminiſtration of a democracy, than in the miniſtry of the altars. Hence thoſe examinations, thoſe oaths, thoſe accounts of their conduct he exacts from perſons who either are, or have been, inveſted with power; hence his maxim, that juſtice ſhould be ſlowly exerciſed on the faults of individuals, but at the very inſtant on men in office [l]; hence that terrible law which condemns to death the archon who, after loſing his reaſon in the pleaſures of the table, ſhould dare to appear in public with the enſigns of his dignity [m].

In fine, if we conſider that the cenſure of morals was entruſted to a tribunal, the auſterity of whoſe conduct conſtituted the

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[k] Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 168.
[l] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 845.
[m] Laert. in Solon. § 57. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 240.

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ſevereſt of cenſures, we ſhall readily conceive that Solon conſidered the preſervation of morals as the firmeſt ſupport of his legiſlation.

Such was the general ſyſtem of Solon. His civil and criminal laws have always been regarded as oracles by the Athenians, and as models by other nations. Several of the Grecian ſtates have conſidered it as a duty to adopt them [n]; and from the fartheſt part of Italy the Romans, wearied with their diviſions, have called them in to their aſſiſtance [o]. As circumſtances may oblige a ſtate to modify ſome of its laws, I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the precautions taken by Solon to introduce the neceſſary changes, and to avoid ſuch as might prove dangerous.

The form of government he eſtabliſhed differs eſſentially from that now in uſe at Athens. Muſt we attribute this prodigious change to vices inherent in the conſtitution itſelf? or is it to be aſcribed to events impoſſible

[n] Demoſth. in Tim. p. 805.
[o] Liv. lib. 3, cap. 31. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xii. p. 42.

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to be foreſeen? I ſhall venture, from information received in my intercourſe with ſeveral enlightened Athenians, to hazard a few reflections on ſo important a ſubject: but this ſlight diſcuſſion muſt be preceded by the hiſtory of the revolutions which have happened in the ſtate from the days of Solon to the invaſion of the Perſians.

The laws of Solon were to continue in force only for a century. He had fixed this period to prevent the Athenians from murmuring at the proſpect of an eternal yoke. After the ſenators, the archons, and the people, had ſworn to maintain them, they were inſcribed on the different faces of ſeveral tablets of wood, which at firſt were depoſited in the citadel. They reached from the ground to the roof of the edifice that contained them [p]; and being eaſily turned round, ſucceſſively preſented the whole code of laws to the eyes of the ſpectators. They have ſince been removed to the prytaneum, and other places, where individuals are allowed free

[p] Etym. Magn. in Axon.

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acceſs to conſult theſe precious charters of their liberty [q].

When time had been given to conſider and make trial of theſe laws, Solon was ſurrounded by a crowd of importunate citizens, who overwhelmed him with queſtions, advices, commendations, or reproaches. Some preſſed him for an explanation of particular laws, capable, according to them, of different interpretations; others propoſed a variety of things to be added, modified, or ſuppreſſed. Solon having exhauſted his patience, and tried every conciliatory method in vain, was ſenſible that time alone could perfect and give ſtrength to his work; he therefore departed, after requeſting permiſſion to abſent himſelf for ten years [r], and binding the Athenians by a ſolemn oath, not to make any alteration in his laws during his abſence [s].

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[q] Plut. in Solon. p. 92. Aul. Gell. lib. 2, cap. 12. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, No. 128. Meurſ. Lect. Att. lib. 1, cap. 22. Pet. in Præf. Leg. Att.

[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 92.

[s] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 29.

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In Egypt he converſed with thoſe prieſts, who imagine they have in their poſſeſſion the annals of the world; and as he was one day explaining to them the ancient traditions of Greece: "Solon, Solon," ſaid one of the prieſts gravely, "you Greeks are but very young; time has not yet made your knowledge hoary [t]." In Crete, he had the honour to inſtruct the ſovereign of a little diſtrict in the art of government, and to give his name to a city to the happineſs of which he had been inſtrumental [u].

At his return, he found the Athenians ready to ſink again into anarchy [x]. The three parties, which had ſo long rent the republic, ſeemed to have ſuſpended their hatred during his legiſlation, only to vent it with more violence in his abſence: in one point alone were they united; in deſiring a change in the conſtitution, without any other motive but a ſecret reſtleſſneſs, or any object but vague hopes.

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[t] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 22.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 93.
[x] Id. p. 94.

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Solon, received with the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours, wiſhed to avail himſelf of theſe favourable diſpoſitions to calm diſſenſions too frequently reviving: at firſt he thought himſelf powerfully ſeconded by Piſiſtratus, who was at the head of the popular faction; and who, apparently eager to maintain equality among the citizens, declared himſelf an irreconcileable enemy to every innovation which might tend to its deſtruction: but he ſoon diſcovered that this profound politician concealed the moſt inordinate ambition under the maſk of an affected moderation.

Never did man unite more qualities to captivate the minds of the people. He was of an illuſtrious birth [y], and poſſeſſed of great wealth, acknowledged courage [z], a commanding figure [a], a perſuaſive eloquence [b], to which the muſical tone of his voice lent new charms [c]; and a mind en-

[y] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 65.
[z] Id. lib. 1, cap. 59.
[a] Athen. lib. 12, cap. 8, p. 533.
[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 95. Cicer. in Brut. cap. 7, t. 1. p. 342.
[c] Plut. in Pericl. p. 155.

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riched with the talents beſtowed by nature, and the information procured by ſtudy [d]. No man was a greater maſter of his paſſions, or knew better how to turn to advantage thoſe virtues he really poſſeſſed, and thoſe of which he had only the appearance [e]. His ſucceſs has proved, that in projects of tedious execution nothing can beſtow a more decided ſuperiority than mildneſs and flexibility of character.

With ſuch eminent advantages, Piſiſtratus, acceſſible to the loweſt citizens, laviſhed on them thoſe conſolations and ſuccours which dry up the ſource, or palliate the bitterneſs, of ſuffering [f]. Solon, attentive to his proceedings, penetrated his intentions; but, whilſt he was employed in deviſing means to guard againſt their conſequences, Piſiſtratus appeared in the forum, covered with wounds he had artfully procured, imploring the protection of that people he had

[d] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 34, t. 1, p. 312.
[e] Plut. in Solon. p. 95.
[f] Plut. ibid.

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himself so frequently protected[g]. The assembly being immediately convoked, he accused the senate and the chiefs of the other factions of attempting his life; and displaying his still bleeding wounds: "Behold," exclaimed he, "the reward of my love for the democracy, and of the zeal with which I have defended your rights[h]."

At these words only menacing exclamations were heard on all sides; the principal citizens kept silence in astonishment, or took to flight. Solon, filled with indignation at their cowardice, and the infatuation of the people, in vain attempted to re-animate the courage of the former, and to dispel the frenzy of the latter[i]: his voice, enfeebled by years, was easily overpowered by the clamours excited by pity, rage, and apprehension. The assembly concluded by voting Pisistratus a strong guard for the defence of his person. From this

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[g] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 59. Arist. de Rhet. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 518. Diod. Sicul. lib. 13, p. 215. Laert. in Solon. &c.

[h] Justin. lib. 2, c. 8. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1, cap. 2.

[i] Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

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moment all his projects were accompliſhed: he preſently employed this force to take poſſeſſion of the citadel [k]; and, after diſarming the multitude, ſeized without oppoſition on the ſupreme authority *.

Solon did not long ſurvive the enſlaving of his country: he had oppoſed, as much as was in his power, the enterpriſes of Piſiſtratus. He was ſeen, with arms, repairing to the forum, and endeavouring to excite the people to defend their liberties [l]: but his example and harangues no longer produced any effect; his friends alone, terrified at his courage, repreſented to him that the tyrant was reſolved on his deſtruction; "and what," added they, "can inſpire you with ſuch firmneſs?" "My old age," replied he [m].

Piſiſtratus was far from ſullying his triumph by an act ſo atrocious and ſo odious. Penetrated with the higheſt veneration for

[k] Plut. in Solon. p. 96. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1, cap. 2.
* The year 560 before Chriſt.
[l] Plut. ibid. Laert. in Solon. § 49. Val. Maxim. lib. 5, c. 3, No. 3.
[m] Plut. ibid. Cicer. de Senect. cap. 20, t. iii. p. 317.

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Solon, he felt that the ſanction of that legiſlator alone would in ſome meaſure excuſe his uſurpation: he courted him by diſtinguiſhed marks of deference and reſpect; he aſked his advice; and Solon, yielding to ſeduction, while he imagined he only gave way to neceſſity, was ſoon prevailed upon to aſſiſt him with his counſel [n]; flattering himſelf, no doubt, with the hope of inducing Piſiſtratus to maintain the laws, and to make fewer encroachments on the eſtabliſhed conſtitution.

Thirty-three years elapſed between the revolution and the death of Piſiſtratus *, but he continued at the head of affairs only ſeventeen years [o]. Overpowered by the ſuperior ſtrength of his adverſaries, and twice obliged to fly from Athens, he twice reſumed his authority [p], and had the conſolation, before he died, of ſecuring it to his family.

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[n] Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

* The year 528 before Chriſt.

[o] Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 8. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 411.

[p] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 64. Ariſt. ibid.

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During the whole of his government, his days, dedicated to the ſervice of the public, were continually diſtinguiſhed either by new benefits or new virtues.

His laws, by baniſhing idleneſs, encouraged agriculture and induſtry: he diſtributed over the country that multitude of obſcure citizens, whom the heat of factions had ſettled in the capital [q]; he revived the valour of the troops, by aſſigning to invalid ſoldiers a certain ſubſiſtence for the remainder of their lives [r]. In the country, in the forum, in his gardens, acceſſible to every perſon [s], he appeared like a father amidſt his children: ever ready to liſten to the complaints of the unfortunate; making pecuniary allowances to ſome, advances to others, and offers to all [t].

With a view of gratifying his taſte for magnificence, at the ſame time that he complied with the neceſſity of giving em-

[q] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 7, p. 120; orat. 25, p. 281. Heſych. et Suid. in Κατων.
[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 96.
[s] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12, cap. 8, p. 533.
[t] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9, cap. 25.

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ployment to an untractable and idle people [u], he embellished the city with temples, gymnasia, and fountains [x]; and as he did not dread the progress of knowledge, he published a new edition of the works of Homer, and founded a library, composed of the best authors then extant, for the use of the Athenians.

Let us add here a few anecdotes which more particularly evince the greatness of his mind. Never had he the weakness to revenge insults which it was easy for him to punish.

While his daughter was attending a religious ceremony, a young man who was passionately in love with her ran to embrace her, and some time after attempted to carry her off. Pisistratus, when advised by his family to take vengeance, replied: "If we hate those who love us, what shall we do to those who hate us?" and immediately chose this

[u] Arist. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 407.
[x] Meurs. in Pisistr. cap. 9.

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young man to be the husband of his daughter [y].

Some drunken persons publicly insulted his wife: the next day they came to him in tears, to solicit a pardon they could scarcely dare to hope. "You are mistaken," replied Pisistratus; "my wife did not stir out yesterday the whole day [z]." To conclude, some of his adherents, resolving to withdraw from their obedience to him, retired to a strong hold. He instantly followed them, with some slaves carrying his baggage; and when the conspirators enquired of him his intention: "You must either persuade me to remain with you," said he, "or I must prevail on you to return with me [a]."

These acts of moderation and clemency, frequently repeated during his life, and rendered more conspicuous by the wisdom of his government, insensibly mitigated the re-

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[y] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 189. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 5, cap. 14. Val. Max. lib. 5, cap. 1.
[z] Plut. ibid.
[a] Plut. ibid.

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fractory ſpirit of the Athenians, and made many of them prefer ſo mild a ſervitude to their ancient and tumultuous liberty [b].

Yet it muſt be owned, that though in a monarchy Piſiſtratus would have been the model of the beſt of kings, in the republic of Athens the citizens in general were more diſpoſed to regard with abhorrence the crime of his uſurpation, than to conſider all the advantages derived from his government to the ſtate.

After his death, his ſons Hippias and Hipparchus ſucceeded him, and, with leſs brilliant talents, governed with the ſame wiſdom [c]. Hipparchus, in particular, was fond of letters. Anacreon and Simonides, invited to his court, met with a moſt flattering reception: the firſt was loaded with honours, and the ſecond with preſents. He deſerves alſo to participate with his father in the glory of extending the fame of Homer [d]. He may be reproached, as well as his bro-

[b] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 62.
[c] Thucydid. lib. 6, cap. 54.
[d] Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 228.

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ther, with too freely abandoning himſelf to pleaſures, and with inſpiring the Athenians with a taſte for luxury[e]: fortunate, nevertheleſs, if in the midſt of theſe exceſſes he had not committed an act of injuſtice, of which he was the firſt victim!

Two young Athenians, Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, united in bonds of the tendereſt friendſhip, having received from this prince an affront it was impoſſible to forget, conſpired his deſtruction and that of his brother[f]. Some of their friends entered into this conſpiracy, and its execution was fixed for the ſolemnity of the Panathenæa: they hoped that the crowd of Athenians, who, during the ceremonies of this feſtival, were permitted to bear arms, would ſecond their efforts, or at leaſt protect them againſt the fury of the guards who attended on the ſons of Piſiſtratus.

With this view, after covering their poniards with branches of myrtle, they re-

[e] Athen. lib. 12, cap. 8, p. 532.
[f] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 56. Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 229. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 406; et alii.

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paired to the place where the princes were arranging a proceſſion they were to precede to the temple of Minerva. When they arrived, they ſaw one of the conſpirators in familiar converſation with Hippias, and concluded themſelves betrayed; but reſolving dearly to ſell their lives, retired for a moment, and finding Hipparchus, plunged a dagger in his heart *. Harmodius inſtantly fell beneath the redoubled blows of the prince's guards. Ariſtogiton, ſeized almoſt at the ſame inſtant, was put to the torture; but far from naming his accomplices, he accuſed the moſt faithful partiſans of Hippias, who ordered them to be dragged to inſtant puniſhment. "Haſt thou ſtill other wretches to diſcover?" exclaimed the tyrant, tranſported with fury. "There are none left but thee," replies the Athenian: "I die, and enjoy in death the ſatisfaction of having deprived thee of thy beſt friends §."

* The year 514 before Chriſt.

§ Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1, cap. 22. Senec. de Irâ, lib. 2, cap. 23. Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 9.

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From that moment Hippias abandoned himſelf to the perpetration of every kind of injuſtice[h]; but the yoke he laid heavy on the Athenians was broken three years after*. Cliſthenes, chief of the Alcmæonidæ, a powerful houſe of Athens, at all times inimical to the family of Piſiſtratus, collected all the malecontents about his perſon; and having obtained the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, by means of the Pythia of Delphi, whom he had gained over to his intereſt[i], marched againſt Hippias, and forced him to abdicate the tyranny. That prince, after wandering for ſome time with his family, repaired to the court of Darius, king of Perſia, and was at laſt killed at the battle of Marathon[k].

No ſooner had the Athenians recovered their liberty, than they rendered the higheſt honours to the memory of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Statues were erected to them

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[h] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 59. Ariſt. Œcon. lib. 2, t. ii. p. 502. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 23, p. 53.

* The year 510 before Chriſt.

[i] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 62 et 66.

[k] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 107. Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 59.

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in the forum [l]: it was enacted that their names ſhould be for ever celebrated at the feſtival of the Panathenæa [m], and ſhould, on no pretext whatever, be given to ſlaves [n]. The poets eternized their glory by poems and ſongs *, ſtill ſung at banquets [o]; and very extenſive privileges were granted in perpetuity to their deſcendants [p].

Cliſthenes, who had ſo greatly contributed to the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ, had ſtill to ſtruggle for many years againſt a powerful faction [q]; but at length obtaining in the ſtate the authority to which he was entitled by his great talents, he confirmed the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by Solon, which the Piſiſtratidæ had never attempted entirely to ſubvert.

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[l] Ariſt. de Rhet. lib. 1, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 533. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 630. Plin. lib. 34, cap. 8, p. 654.

[m] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 344. Philoſtr. in Vit. Apoll. lib. 7, cap. 4, p. 283.

[n] Aul. Gell. lib. 9, cap. 2.

* See note IV. at the end of the volume.

[o] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 1220. Id. in Acharn. v. 977. Schol. ibid. Athen. lib. 15, cap. 14, p. 692.

[p] Iſæus de Hered. Dicæog. p. 55. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 565. Dinarch. in Demoſth. p. 186.

[q] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 66.

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Never had theſe princes, in fact, aſſumed the title of king, though they boaſted themſelves to be the deſcendants of the ancient ſovereigns of Athens [r]. If Piſiſtratus levied the tenth of the produce of the lands [s], it was the only tax he impoſed, and this his ſons reduced to a twentieth; all the three appeared to exact it leſs for their own maintenance, than for the neceſſities of the ſtate [t]: they maintained the laws of Solon as much by their example as by their authority. Piſiſtratus, accuſed of murder, appeared, like the loweſt citizen, to take his trial before the Areopagus [u]. In a word, they preſerved the eſſential parts of the ancient conſtitution [x]; the ſenate, the aſſemblies of the people, and the offices of magiſtracy, with which they were careful to inveſt themſelves [y], and whoſe prerogatives

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[r] Laert. in Solon. § 53. Reinecc. Hiſt. Jul. t. i. p. 465.
[s] Laert. ibid. Suid. in Sphacel.
[t] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 54.
[u] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 12, p. 411. Plut. in Solon. p. 96.
[x] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 59.
[y] Thucydid. ut ſuprà.

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they laboured to extend. It was as chief magiſtrates therefore, as perpetual chiefs of a democratic ſtate, that they acted, and acquired ſo much influence over the public deliberations. The moſt abſolute power was exerciſed under apparently legal forms, and the enſlaved people had perpetually before their eyes the image of liberty; accordingly we ſee them, after the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ, without oppoſition, and without a ſtruggle, re-aſſuming their rights, which had been ſuſpended rather than deſtroyed. The changes now made by Cliſthenes in the government did not entirely bring it back to its firſt principles, as I ſhall preſently ſhew.

The recital of facts has conducted me to the times in which the Athenians ſignalized their valour againſt the Perſians. But before I proceed to this part of their hiſtory, I ſhall here give the reflections I have promiſed on the political ſyſtem of Solon.

We muſt not expect from Solon a legiſlation ſimilar to that of Lycurgus. Fortune had

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had placed them in very different circumſtances.

The Lacedæmonians occupied a country producing every thing neceſſary for their wants [z]. The legiſlator had only to confine them to it, to prevent foreign vices from corrupting the ſpirit and purity of his inſtitutions. Athens, ſituated near the ſea, and ſurrounded by an ungrateful ſoil, was obliged continually to interchange her produce, her induſtry, her ideas, and manners, with thoſe of different nations.

The reform of Lycurgus preceded that of Solon by about two centuries and a half. The Spartans, limited in their arts, their knowledge, and even in their paſſions, were leſs advanced in good and evil, than the Athenians were at the time of Solon. The latter, after having experienced all kinds of governments, were diſguſted both with ſervitude and liberty, without being able to diſpenſe with either. Induſtrious, enlightened, vain, and difficult to manage, all of them, even to the loweſt individuals, were

[z] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 90.

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familiarized with intrigue, ambition, and all the great paſſions that take birth in the frequent commotions of a ſtate: they already poſſeſſed the vices to be found amongſt formed nations. They were remarkable likewiſe for a reſtleſs activity, and a ficklenes of mind, which we meet with in no other country.

The houſe of Lycurgus had long inherited the throne of Lacedæmon: the two kings who then ſhared it, commanding no reſpect, Lycurgus appeared in the eyes of the Spartans as the firſt and moſt eminent perſon in the ſtate [a]. As he could rely on his own influence, and on that of his friends, he was leſs reſtrained by thoſe conſiderations which throw a damp on genius, and circumſcribe the views of a legiſlator. Solon, a private individual, inveſted with a tranſient authority, to be employed with prudence, if he wiſhed to employ it to effect; ſurrounded by powerful factions, which he was obliged to manage, in order

[a] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

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to preſerve their confidence; and, forewarned by the recent example of Draco that modes of ſeverity were not ſuited to the character of the Athenians, was unable to hazard great innovations, without occaſioning ſtill greater, and again plunging the ſtate into perhaps irreparable misfortunes.

I do not ſpeak of the perſonal qualities of the two legiſlators. Nothing reſembles leſs the genius of Lycurgus than the talents of Solon, nor the vigorous mind of the former than the mild and circumſpect character of the latter. There was nothing common to them both, but the ardour with which they laboured, though by different means, to procure the happineſs of nations. Should we ſuppoſe them to have changed places, Solon would not have effected things ſo great and ſublime as Lycurgus; we may doubt whether Lycurgus would have performed ſuch beautiful things as Solon.

The latter was ſenſible of the difficulty of his undertaking; and, when aſked whether he had given the Athenians the beſt of

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all laws, he anſwered, The beſt they were capable of bearing [b]. He thus painted with a ſingle ſtroke the untractable character of the Athenians, and the fatal conſtraint under which he laboured.

Solon was obliged to prefer the popular form of government, becauſe the people, recollecting that they had enjoyed it for ſeveral ages, would no longer ſubmit to the tyranny of the rich [c], and becauſe a nation which applies itſelf to maritime affairs always inclines ſtrongly towards a democracy [d].

In adopting this form, he ſo tempered it, as to give the idea of an oligarchy in the body of the Areopagites; of an ariſtocracy in the mode of electing magiſtrates; and of a pure democracy in the liberty granted the loweſt citizens to have a ſeat in the tribunals of juſtice [e].

This conſtitution, which partook of the nature of mixed governments, was over-

[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 86.
[c] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 336.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 7, p. 420.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 336.

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thrown by the exceſs of power in the people, as that of the Perſians was by the exceſs of power in the prince [f].

Solon is reproached with having accelerated this corruption, by the law which beſtows indiſcriminately on all the citizens the right of adminiſtering juſtice, and by appointing them to that important function by way of lot [g]. The conſequences of ſuch a privilege were not at firſt perceived [h]; but, in the end, every one was obliged to conciliate or implore the protection of the people, who, filling all the tribunals, poſſeſſed the power of interpreting the laws, and diſpoſing at their pleaſure of the lives and fortunes of the citizens.

In tracing out the ſketch of the ſyſtem of Solon, I have ſtated the motives that engaged him to enact the law complained of. I ſhall here add, 1ſt, that it is not only adopted, but of great utility in the beſt conſtituted democracies [i]; 2dly, that Solon

[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, p. 693 et 699.
[g] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 336.
[h] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[i] Ariſt. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 416.

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never could presume that the people would abandon their labours for the sterile pleasure of deciding the differences of individuals. If they have since taken possession of the tribunals, and thereby increased their authority, the blame must fall on Pericles, who, by assigning an emolument to those who acted as judges [k], furnished the poorer citizens with a more easy method of subsistence.

It is not in the laws of Solon that we must search for the origin of those vices that have disfigured his work; but in a series of innovations, for the most part unnecessary, and which it was as impossible to foresee, as it would be at this day to justify.

After the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, Clisthenes, to gain the favour of the people, divided into ten tribes the original four, which had comprised the inhabitants of Attica from the days of Cecrops [l]; and fifty senators were annually elected by

[k] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 12, p. 336.
[l] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 66 et 99. Aristot. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 4, p. 418. Plut. in Per. p. 153.

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lot from each of them, by which means the number of theſe magiſtrates was increaſed to five hundred.

Theſe ten tribes had each their preſidents, their officers of police, their tribunals, their aſſemblies, and ſeparate intereſts, like ſo many little republics. To multiply theſe, and give them more activity, was to engage all the citizens, without diſtinction, to intermeddle in public affairs; it was favouring the people, who, beſides the right of naming their officers, had the greateſt influence in each tribe.

Another conſequence was, that the various companies entruſted with the collection and application of the public money, were compoſed of ten officers named by the ten tribes, which, preſenting new objects of ambition to the people, ſerved to introduce them ſtill further into the different branches of the adminiſtration.

But it is principally to the victories gained by the Athenians over the Perſians, that we muſt attribute the deſtruction of

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the ancient conſtitution [m]. After the battle of Platæa it was enacted, that the citizens of the loweſt claſſes, excluded by Solon from the chief offices of the magiſtracy, ſhould henceforward poſſeſs that privilege. The ſage Ariſtides, who propoſed this decree [n], gave the moſt fatal of examples to his ſucceſſors in command. It became neceſſary for them firſt to flatter, then ſervilely to crouch to the multitude.

Formerly they had diſdained to attend at the general aſſemblies; but no ſooner did government allow a gratuity of three oboli to every perſon preſent [o], than they repaired thither in crowds, keeping away the rich, as well by their numbers as their fury, and inſolently ſubſtituting their caprices for the laws.

Pericles, the moſt dangerous of thoſe leaders who paid court to the multitude, diſguſted them with buſineſs, and their little

[m] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 12, p. 336.
[n] Plut. in Ariſtid. p 332.
[o] Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 205.

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remaining virtue, by largeſſes which exhauſted the public treaſury, and, amongſt other advantages, facilitated their acceſs to the public ſpectacles[p]; and, as if he had conſpired the total overthrow of manners, in order to accelerate the downfall of the conſtitution, he reduced the Areopagus to ſilence, by depriving that court of almoſt all its privileges[q].

The precautions which Solon had ſo wiſely taken to guard the great intereſts of the ſtate againſt the incongruous meaſures of an ignorant and mad populace, were then neglected, or had no effect. Let us recollect, that it was the duty of the ſenate to prepare all public buſineſs, previous to its being laid before the aſſembly of the people; that it was to be diſcuſſed only by orators of acknowledged probity, and the firſt ſuffrages given by aged men enlightened by experience. Theſe checks, ſo well calculated to repreſs the impetuoſity of the people, were all annulled by them-

[p] Plut. in Per. p. 156.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 155.

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ſelves[r]. They would no longer obey any but demagogues who led them aſtray[s], and extended ſo far the limits of their authority, that, ceaſing to perceive them, they imagined that they had ceaſed to exiſt.

Certain offices of magiſtracy, heretofore conferred only on upright men by free election, are now beſtowed, by way of chance, on every claſs of citizens[t]; nay, frequently, without having recourſe to that, or any other mode of election, individuals find means, by dint of money and intrigues, to obtain employments, and even to procure admiſſion into the order of ſenators[u]. In fine, the people pronounce in the laſt reſort on ſeveral offences, the cognizance of which is either reſerved to them by the later decrees of Solon[x], or which they themſelves ſummon to their tribunal, in contempt of the ordinary courſe of juſtice[y].

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[r] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 427.
[s] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 336.
[t] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 321.
[u] Æſchin. in Timar. p. 276. Id. in Cteſiph. p. 437.
[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 450.
[y] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 369.

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By this means, the powers which had been ſo ſagely diſtributed are confounded; and the legiſlative power, executing its own laws, makes the nation every moment feel, or apprehend, the dreadful weight of oppreſſion.

Theſe deſtructive vices never would have crept into the conſtitution, had it not had inſurmountable obſtacles to overcome: but the uſurpation of the Piſiſtratidæ ſtopped its progreſs in the very origin; and its principles were ſoon after corrupted by the victories over the Perſians. To have enabled the conſtitution to defend itſelf againſt ſimilar events, it was neceſſary that a long peace and the moſt perfect liberty ſhould have allowed it to operate powerfully on the manners of the Athenians; without this, all the gifts of genius, united in a legiſlator, muſt have been inſufficient to prevent Piſiſtratus from being the moſt ſeducing of mankind, and the Athenians, the people the moſt open to ſeduction: they could not have prevented the brilliant ſucceſſes of Ma-

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rathon, of Salamis, and Platæa, from inſpiring with the moſt extravagant preſumption the people in the world moſt ſuſceptible of ſuch folly.

From the effects produced by the inſtitutions of Solon, we may judge of thoſe they would have produced in happier circumſtances. Confined as they were in their operation under the tyranny of the Piſiſtratidæ, they acted ſlowly on the minds of men, either from the advantages of an education common at that time, and which is ſo no longer[a]; or from the influence of the republican forms, which perpetually cheriſhed the illuſion, and the hope of liberty. Scarcely were thoſe princes baniſhed, before the democracy was re-eſtabliſhed of itſelf, and the Athenians diſplayed a character of which they had never hitherto been ſuſpected. From this epocha to that of their corruption, only about half a century elapſed; but virtue and the laws were ſtill reſpected in that happy period: the

[a] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 8, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 449.

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wiſeſt men never ſpeak of it but with eulogies, accompanied with regret; and can diſcover no other remedy for the evils of the ſtate, but the revival of the government of Solon [a].

SECT. II.

AGE OF THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES [*].

It is with pain that I prevail on myſelf to deſcribe campaigns and battles; it ſhould ſuffice to know, that wars originate in the ambition of princes, and terminate in the miſery of nations: but the example of a people preferring death to ſervitude is too ſublime, and too inſtructive to be paſſed over in ſilence.

[a] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 319. Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 427.
[*] From the year 490 to about 444 before Chriſt.

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Cyrus had lately raiſed the Perſian power on the ruins of the empires of Babylon and Lydia; he had received the homage of Arabia, of Egypt, and the moſt diſtant nations[b]; and his ſon Cambyſes had ſubjected Cyrenaica, and many countries of Africa[c].

After the death of the latter prince, ſome Perſian nobles, to the number of ſeven, having put to death one of the magi who had uſurped the throne, aſſembled in order to ſettle the government of this extenſive empire[d]. Othanes propoſed to reſtore liberty, and eſtabliſh a general democracy; Megabyzus extolled the advantages of ariſtocracy; Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, declared himſelf for the conſtitution, which had hitherto ſecured the happineſs and glory of the Perſians: his opinion prevailed, and chance, to which it was agreed to ſubmit the choice of a ſovereign, deciding, by his artifices, in his fa-

[b] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1, p. 2; lib. 8, p. 230.
[c] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 7, 13, &c.
[d] Id. lib. 3, cap. 80.

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vour, he found himſelf the undiſturbed poſſeſſor of the moſt powerful empire in the world, and, after the example of the ancient monarchs of the Aſſyrians, aſſumed the title of the great king, and that of king of kings *.

Advanced to this exalted ſtation, he ſtill knew to reſpect the laws, diſcern merit, receive counſel, and acquire friends. Zopyrus, ſon of Megabyzus, was the friend whom he loved with the moſt tenderneſs. Some perſon having taken the liberty to propoſe one day the following queſtion to Darius, who held a pomegranate in his hand: "What good is there you would wiſh to multiply as often as that fruit contains ſeeds?" "Such friends as Zopyrus," replied the king without heſitation [a]. This anſwer threw Zopyrus into one of thoſe paroxyſms of zeal, to be juſtified only by the ſentiment that gives them birth †.

* The year 521 before Chriſt.

[a] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 173.

† According to Herodotus, lib. 4, cap. 143, Darius did not name Zopyrus, but Megabyzus, father of that young Perſian.

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Darius had been beſieging Babylon, which had revolted, during nineteen months [f], and was on the point of abandoning his enterpriſe, when Zopyrus appeared in his preſence, without noſe or ears, and with every part of his body mutilated and covered with wounds. "What barbarous hand has reduced you to this pitiable condition?" exclaimed the king, running towards him. "It is my own act," replied Zopyrus. "I am going to Babylon, where my name and the rank I hold in your court are well known: I will accuſe you of having puniſhed, by the moſt undeſerved and odious cruelties, the advice I gave you to retire from before the city. A body of troops will be entruſted to my command; you will ſacrifice ſome of yours, and facilitate ſucceſſes which will more and more acquire me the confidence of the enemy: I ſhall be able to make myſelf maſter of the gates, and Babylon ſhall be yours!" Darius was filled with grief and admi-

[f] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 151.

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ration. The project of Zopyrus ſucceeded. His friend loaded him with careſſes and bounties: but often ſaid; I would have given a hundred Babylons to have ſaved Zopyrus from ſo barbarous a treatment [g].

From this ſenſibility, ſo amiable in an individual, ſo precious in a ſovereign, reſulted that clemency the vanquiſhed ſo often experienced on the part of this prince, and the gratitude with which he rewarded, with kingly munificence, the ſervices he had received as an individual [h]. Hence originated likewiſe that moderation which ſhone forth in the moſt rigorous acts of his authority. Before his time the revenues of the crown conſiſted only in the voluntary offerings of his ſubjects; offerings received by Cyrus with the tenderneſs of a father, but exacted by Cambyſes with the haughtineſs of a maſter [i]; and which in future the ſovereign might have multi-

[g] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 173.
[h] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 140.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 89.

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plied at his pleaſure. Darius divided his kingdom into twenty governments or fatrapies, and ſubmitted the quota of contributions he propoſed to draw from each province to the examination of the perſons placed over them. All theſe governors exclaimed againſt the ſmallneſs of the tributes. But the king, diſtruſtful of their counſel, took care to reduce them to the half[k].

The various parts of the adminiſtration were regulated by wiſe laws[l], which maintained that harmony and peace, among the Perſians, which ſupport a ſtate; and individuals found, in the ſecurity of their rights and poſſeſſions, the only equality they can poſſibly enjoy in a monarchy.

Darius rendered his reign illuſtrious by uſeful inſtitutions, and tarniſhed it by conqueſts. Born with military talents; idolized by his troops[m]; intrepidly courageous in the time of action, but cool and unruffled

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[k] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 172.
[l] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 695.
[m] Id. ibid.

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in the moment of danger[n], he ſubdued almoſt as many nations as Cyrus himſelf[o].

His forces, his victories, and that flattery which conſtantly waits on thrones, perſuaded him, that a word from him ought to compel the homage of nations; and as he was as capable of executing as of forming great projects, he might defer, but never totally abandoned them.

Intending to ſpeak of the immenſe reſources he poſſeſſed to add Greece to the number of his conqueſts, I choſe to premiſe ſome features of his character, for a ſovereign is ſtill more powerful by his perſonal qualities than by his power.

The power of the Perſian monarch was almoſt unlimited. His empire, the extent of which in certain places is about 21,164 ſtadia * from eaſt to weſt, and about 7936 † from north to ſouth, may contain in ſuperficies 115,618,000 ſquare ſtadia ‡; whilſt

[n] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 172.
[o] Id. ibid.
* 800 French leagues of 2500 toiſes each.
† 300 leagues.
‡ 165,200 ſquare leagues.

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the ſurface of Greece, conſiſting at moſt of 1,366,000 ſquare ſtadia *, forms but the 115th part of that of Perſia. The latter compriſes a number of provinces ſituated under the happieſt climate, fertilized by vaſt rivers, adorned by flouriſhing cities, rich from the nature of the ſoil [p], the induſtry of the inhabitants, the activity of commerce, and a population favoured at once by religion, the laws, and rewards appropriated to fecundity.

The taxes levied in money [q] amounted to ſomething more than 14,560 Eubœic talents †. Theſe were not intended to defray the current expences ‡; but converted into ingots [r], and reſerved for extraordinary occaſions. The provinces were called upon for the maintenance of the royal houſehold and the ſubſiſtence of the armies [s]: ſome furniſhed

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* 1952 ſquare leagues. *(Manuſcript note of M. d'Anville.)*

[p] Xenophon. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3, p. 296. Arrian. Hiſt. Indic. p. 355.

[q] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 95.

† About 90 millions of livres (or 3,750,000 pounds ſterling).

‡ See note V. at the end of the volume.

[r] Herodot. ibid. cap. 96.

[s] Id. lib. 1, cap. 192.

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corn [t], others horſes [u]; Armenia alone was charged with an annual ſupply of twenty thouſand colts [x]. Other ſatrapies contributed flocks of cattle, wool, ebony, elephants teeth, and various kinds of productions [y].

Troops diſperſed over the provinces retained them in obedience, or ſecured them againſt invaſion [z]. Another army, compoſed of the beſt ſoldiers, watched over the perſonal ſafety of the prince: among them ſtood particularly diſtinguiſhed a body of ten thouſand men, called the immortals, as their number was always intended to be complete [a]; no other corps dared to diſpute with them, either the honour of precedency, or the reward of valour.

Cyrus had introduced a diſcipline into

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[t] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 91.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 90.
[x] Strab. lib. 11, p. 530.
[y] Herodot. ibid. cap. 97. Strab. lib. 15, p. 735.
[z] Herodot. ibid. cap. 90, 91. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8, p. 230.
[a] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 83. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 7. Heſych. et Suid. in Αθανατοι.

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the armies [b], which his firſt ſucceſſors carefully maintained. Every year the ſovereign ordered a general review, and made himſelf exactly acquainted with the ſtate of the troops near his perſon. Intelligent and faithful inſpectors were ſent to exerciſe the ſame functions at a diſtance. The officers who fulfilled their duty obtained rewards; and thoſe who were found guilty of negligence were deprived of their command [c].

The nation of the Perſians, the firſt nation of the Eaſt, ſince it had produced Cyrus, conſidered valour as the moſt eminent of qualities [d], and conſequently eſteemed it in its enemies [e]. To brave the rigour of the ſeaſons, to endure long and arduous marches, to caſt the javelin, to ſwim torrents, were infant ſports with the Perſians [f]; to which, in a more advanced

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[b] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8, p. 225.
[c] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 828.
[d] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 136.
[e] Id. lib. 7, cap. 181.
[f] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 15, p. 733.

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age, they added the chace, and other exercises conducive to bodily strength [g]. In peace they appeared with part of the arms usually borne in war [h]; and, not to lose the habit of riding on horseback, they scarcely ever went on foot [i]. These manners insensibly became those of the whole empire.

The principal strength of the Persian armies consists in their cavalry. Even in their flight they let fly their arrows which arrest the impetuosity of the victor [k]. Both horse and horsemen are covered with brass and iron [l]: Media furnishes horses famous for their size, strength, and speed [m].

At the age of twenty, every man is obliged to enrol his name in the militia; he ceases to serve at fifty [n]. At the first

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[g] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1, p. 5.
[h] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, t. i. p. 874. Marcellin. lib. 23, p. 383.
[i] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 4, p. 102; lib. 8, p. 241.
[k] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3, p. 306. Plut. in Crass. t. i. p. 558.
[l] Brisson. de Reg. Pers. lib. 3, cap. 33, &c.
[m] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 106. Id. lib. 7, cap. 40. Arrian. lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 77. Brisson. ibid. cap. 29.
[n] Strab. lib. 15, p. 734.

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command of the ſovereign, all who are appointed to make the campaign muſt, in a limited time, reſort to the place of rendezvous. The laws in this reſpect are dreadfully ſevere. Unhappy fathers have ſometimes requeſted, as a reward for their paſt ſervices, to retain their children with them at home, as the ſupport of their old age: I will diſpenſe with their accompanying me, replied the prince, and immediately ordered them to be put to death [o].

The eaſtern kings never march on any expedition without being attended by prodigious armies. They think it eſſential to their dignity to ſhew themſelves on theſe occaſions with all the pageantry of ſtate: they imagine that victory is decided by the number of ſoldiers, and that by collecting the greateſt part of their forces about their perſon they ſhall prevent any diſturbances that might happen during their abſence. But if theſe armies do not carry all before them, by the ſudden terror they inſpire, or by the

[o] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 84; lib. 7, cap. 39. Senec. de Irâ, lib. 3, cap. 16 et 17.

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firſt ſhock of their attack, they are ſoon compelled to retire, either from the want of ſubſiſtence, or the diſcouragement of the troops; for which reaſon we often ſee the wars of Aſia terminate in a ſingle campaign, and the fate of an empire depend on the iſſue of a battle.

The kings of Perſia enjoy an abſolute authority, ſecured by the reſpect of nations accuſtomed to venerate them as living images of the divinity [p]. Their birth is a day of feſtivity [q]; and at their death, emblematically to ſignify that the world has loſt the principle of light and laws, care is taken to extinguiſh the ſacred fire, and to ſhut up the tribunals of juſtice [r]. During their reign individuals offer no ſacrifices, without addreſſing their vows to heaven for the ſovereign as well as for the nation. All, without excepting the tributary princes, the governors of provinces, and the nobles

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[p] Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 125.
[q] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 121.
[r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17, p. 580. Stob. Serm. 42, p. 294. Briſſon, de Reg. Perſ. p. 54.

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reſiding at the porte (or gate *), call themſelves the ſlaves of the king; a term at this day expreſſive of extreme ſervitude, but which, in the days of Cyrus and Darius, was only a teſtimonial of loyal affection and zeal.

Until the reign of the latter of theſe princes, the Perſians had no motives of difference with the nations of the Grecian continent. Scarcely did the court of Suſa know that ſuch cities as Lacedæmon or Athens exiſted [a], when Darius reſolved to ſubjugate thoſe diſtant countries. Atoſſa, the daughter of Cyrus, whom he had lately married, gave him the firſt idea of this expedition, which ſhe had received from a Greek phyſician named Democedes, who had cured her of a dangerous diſorder. Democedes, unable to procure his liberty by other means, formed the project of an invaſion in Greece: he perſuaded the queen

* This word was uſed to ſignify the court of the kings of Perſia. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8, p. 201, 203, &c. Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 294.

[a] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 153; lib. 5, cap. 73 et 105.

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to approve his plan, and flattered himſelf that, by obtaining a commiſſion, he ſhould facilitate the means of viſiting Crotona his native country.

Atoſſa, taking advantage of a moment in which Darius was expreſſing his affection for her, thus addreſſed him: "It is time to ſignalize your acceſſion to the crown by an enterpriſe which ſhall acquire you the eſteem of your ſubjects[t]. The Perſians muſt have a conqueror for their ſovereign. Employ their reſtleſs ardour againſt foreign nations, if you would not that they ſhould direct it againſt yourſelf." Darius replied, that he propoſed to make war againſt the Scythians. "The Scythians," replied the queen, "will be an eaſy conqueſt whenever you think proper. I wiſh you to turn your arms againſt Greece, and to bring me back ſome women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, of Corinth, and of Athens, to wait my commands." From that moment Darius ſuſpended his project againſt the

[t] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 134.

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Scythians, and ſent Democedes with five Perſians to bring him an exact deſcription of the country of which he meditated the conqueſt.

No ſooner had Democedes quitted the dominions of Darius, than he fled to Italy. The Perſians of whom he was to be the guide ſuffered various misfortunes, and, when they returned to Suſa, the queen was cooled in the deſire of having Greek ſlaves, and Darius was occupied with more important cares.

The king having reduced the city of Babylon to obedience, reſolved to march againſt the nations of Scythia *, who encamp with their flocks and herds between the Iſter † and the Tanais, on the borders of the Euxine ſea.

He began his march at the head of ſeven hundred thouſand ſoldiers [u], to offer ſervitude to a people who, to ruin his army, had only to draw it into uncultivated

* The year 508 before Chriſt.
† The Danube.
[u] Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 5.

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and desert countries. Darius persisted in following them, and ran over extensive solitudes as a victor. "And why flieſt thou at my approach?" sent he one day to ask of the king of the Scythians. "If thou art able to resist me, stop, and bravely fight; if thou dareſt not, acknowledge thy master." The king of the Scythians replied: "I neither fly nor fear any man. It is our custom to wander quietly over our vast domains, during war, as well as in time of peace: we know no blessing but liberty, and acknowledge no masters but the gods. If thou wouldſt prove our valour, follow us, and come and insult the tombs of our ancestors [x]."

In the mean time the army was enfeebled by sickness, the want of provisions, and the difficulty of the marches. It became necessary to resolve on regaining the bridge which Darius had thrown over the Ister, the guard of which he had entrusted to the Greeks of Ionia, with a permission to re-

[x] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 127.

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tire home, if they did not ſee him return within two months [y]. When this time had expired, ſeveral bodies of Scythians appeared more than once on the banks of the river [z]: at firſt they employed entreaties, and afterwards had recourſe to menaces, to induce the officers of the fleet to carry it back to Ionia. Miltiades the Athenian ſtrongly recommended this meaſure; but Hiſtiæus of Miletus, repreſenting [a] to the other chiefs, that, appointed as they had been by Darius governors of the different cities of Ionia, they would be reduced to the condition of ſimple individuals were they to ſuffer the king to periſh, they promiſed the Scythians to break down the bridge, but determined to remain. This determination ſaved Darius and his army.

The diſgrace of the Scythian expedition was ſoon effaced by an important conqueſt. The king obliged the nations inhabiting

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[y] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 98.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 133.
[a] Id. ibid. Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 3.

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the banks of the Indus to acknowledge themſelves his ſubjects; and that river became the limits of his empire to the eaſt [b].

To the weſt it was bounded by a ſeries of Greek colonies ſettled on the coaſts of the Ægean ſea. There ſtood Epheſus, Miletus, Smyrna, and ſeveral flouriſhing cities, aſſociated in different confederations. Theſe are ſeparated from the continent of Greece by the ſea, and a number of iſlands, ſome of which were ſubject to the Athenians, and others independent. The Grecian cities of Aſia aſpired to ſhake off the Perſian yoke; while the inhabitants of the iſlands, and of Greece, properly ſo called, dreaded the vicinity of a power which menaced the nations with general ſervitude.

Theſe fears were greatly increaſed when they ſaw Darius, at his return from Scythia, leave an army of eighty thouſand men in Thrace, which ſubjected that kingdom [c],

[b] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 44.
[c] Id. lib. 5, cap. 2.

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obliged the king of Macedonia to do homage to Darius for his crown [d], and took poſſeſſion of the iſles of Lemnos and of Imbros [e].

Still more were they alarmed when they ſaw the Perſians make an attempt upon the iſle of Naxos, and threaten the iſland of Eubœa, contiguous to Attica [f]. The cities of Ionia, now reſolved to endeavour the recovery of their ancient liberty, expelled their governors [g], burnt the city of Sardes, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia [h], and drew the people of Caria and the iſle of Cyprus into the league they had formed againſt Darius [i]. This revolt * was in fact the ſeed of thoſe wars which were on the point of effecting the utter deſtruction of all the powers of Greece,

[d] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 18.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 26.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 31.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 37.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 102.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 103.
* Towards the year 504 before Chriſt.

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and which one hundred and fifty years after overthrew the Perſian empire.

The Lacedæmonians refuſed to accede to the league; the Athenians, without openly declaring themſelves, determined to favour it. The king of Perſia no longer diſſembled his deſire to extend the boundaries of his empire on their ſide. They owed to the greateſt part of the cities which had recently withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to him, the aſſiſtance due from a mother-country to her colonies: they had long complained of the protection granted by the Perſians to Hippias, ſon of Piſiſtratus, whom they had baniſhed for his tyranny. Artaphernes, brother of Darius, and ſatrap of Lydia, had declared to them, that the only method of providing for their ſafety was to recall Hippias [k]; and they knew that the latter, ſince his reſidence at the court of Suſa, fomented in the mind of Darius thoſe prejudices inceſſantly inſpired

[k] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 96.

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into him againſt the nations of Greece, and in particular againſt the Athenians[1]. Actuated by theſe motives, the Athenians ſent troops into Ionia, which aſſiſted in the taking of Sardes. Their example was followed by the Eretrians of Eubœa.

The principal author of the inſurrection in Ionia was that Hiſtiæus of Miletus, who, in the Scythian expedition, had perſiſted in guarding the bridge over the Iſter; an important ſervice which Darius never forgot, but remembered even after he had rewarded it.

But Hiſtiæus, conſidering himſelf as an exile at the court of Suſa, and impatient to reviſit his country, ſecretly excited the troubles of Ionia, and made uſe of them to obtain permiſſion to return into that province, where he was ſoon after taken in arms. The generals loſt no time in putting him to death, knowing as they did the generoſity of their maſter; and in fact that prince, leſs irritated at his treachery, than

[1] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 96.

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impreſſed with a ſenſe of the obligations he owed him, honoured his memory by funeral obſequies, and ſeverely cenſured his generals for their haſty ſentence [m].

About the ſame time, ſome Phœnician veſſels having taken an Athenian galley, found in it Metiochus, ſon of that Miltiades who had adviſed the breaking of the bridge over the Iſter, by which Darius would have been abandoned to the fury of the Scythians: they ſent him to the king, who received him with diſtinction, and engaged him by his bounties to take up his reſidence in Perſia [n].

Not that Darius was inſenſible to the revolt of the Ionians, and the conduct of the Athenians. On being informed of the burning of Sardes, he vowed to take exemplary vengeance on the latter people; and charged one of his officers daily to remind him of the injury he had received from them [o]: but it was firſt neceſſary to con-

[m] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 30.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 41.
[o] Id. lib. 5, cap. 105.

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clude the war excited againſt him by the former. It continued during ſeveral years, and ended greatly to the advantage of the Perſians. Ionia was again reduced to obedience, and ſeveral iſlands of the Ægean ſea and all the cities of the Helleſpont ſubmitted to the king [p].

Mardonius, his ſon-in-law, immediately departed at the head of a powerful army, and having completely re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity in Ionia, repaired into Macedonia, and there, whether anticipating the orders of Darius, or merely obeying them, he embarked his troops. His pretext was to puniſh the Athenians and Eretrians; his real object to render all Greece tributary [q]: but a violent tempeſt having daſhed part of his veſſels and ſoldiers on the rocks of Mount Athos, he returned to Macedonia, and ſoon after to Suſa.

This diſaſter was not ſuch as to divert the ſtorm then impending over Greece. Da-

[p] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 31 et 33.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 44.

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rius, previous to proceeding to an open rupture, ſent heralds to the different countries he had determined to invade, to demand, in his name, earth and water [r]; which is the formulary employed by the Perſians to exact the homage of nations. The greater part of the iſlands and ſtates of the continent ſubmitted without heſitation: the Athenians and Lacedæmonians not only refuſed, but, by a manifeſt violation of the laws of nations, threw the ambaſſadors of the king into a deep dungeon [s]. The former carried their indignation ſtill further: they condemned the interpreter to die, who had ſullied the Grecian language, by explaining the orders of a barbarian [t].

On this intelligence, Darius gave the command of his forces to a Mede, named Datis, who had more experience than Mardonius, ordering him to deſtroy the cities

[r] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 48.
[s] Id. lib. 7, cap. 32.
[t] Plut. in Them. p. 114. Ariſtid. Panath. Orat. t. i. p. 211.

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of Athens and Eretria, and to bring him the inhabitants laden with chains [w].

The army preſently aſſembled in one of the plains of Cilicia; whence it was tranſported by ſix hundred veſſels into the iſland of Eubœa. The city of Eretria, after a vigorous defence of ſix days, was taken by the treachery of ſome citizens who had influence over the people [x]. The temples were demoliſhed, the inhabitants loaded with chains; and the fleet immediately making a deſcent upon the coaſt of Attica, landed near the village of Marathon, about one hundred and forty ſtadia * from Athens, a hundred thouſand infantry, and ten thouſand cavalry [y]: they encamped in a plain terminated toward the eaſt by the ſea, ſhut in by mountains on every other ſide, and about two hundred ſtadia in circumference †.

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[w] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 94.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 101.
* Near ſix leagues.
[y] Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 5.
† About ſeven leagues and a half.

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In the mean time Athens was in the utmoſt conſternation and diſmay [z]. She had implored the aſſiſtance of the other nations of Greece; but ſome had ſubmitted to Darius, and others trembled at the very name of the Medes or Perſians [a]. The Lacedæmonians alone promiſed troops, but various obſtacles did not allow them immediately to form a junction with thoſe of Athens [b].

This city therefore could only rely on its own ſtrength. And how ſhould ſhe, with a few ſoldiers haſtily levied, dare to reſiſt a power, which in the ſpace of half a century had overthrown the greateſt empires of the world? Though by the ſacrifice of her moſt illuſtrious citizens, and her braveſt warriors, ſhe ſhould obtain the honour of diſputing, for ſome time, the victory, would ſhe not ſoon ſee armies more formidable than the firſt, iſſue from the Aſiatic coaſts, and from the heart of Perſia? The Greeks have

[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 698.
[a] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 112.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 106. Plat. ibid. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 861.

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irritated Darius, and, by adding insult to their offence, have left him no choice but vengeance, dishonour, or a pardon. Would the homage he requires involve an humiliating servitude? Do not the Grecian colonies established in his states retain their laws, their religious worship, and their possessions? Has she not after their revolt obliged them, by the wisest regulations, to unite among themselves, and to be happy in despite of their dissensions? And has not Mardonius himself recently established the democracy in the cities of Ionia [c]?

These reflexions, which induced the nations of Greece in general to declare in favour of the Persians, were counterbalanced, in the minds of the Athenians, by not less weighty apprehensions. The general of Darius with one hand held out the fetters with which he had orders to enchain them [d], and with the other presented them that Hippias, whose solicitations and intrigues had

[c] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 42 et 43.
[d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 698.

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at length conducted the Perſians into the plains of Marathon [e]. They muſt reſolve therefore to ſubmit to the wretched indignity of being dragged like vile ſlaves to the feet of Darius, or to the ſtill more dreadful fate of again groaning under the cruelties of a tyrant breathing nothing but vengeance. In this alternative ſcarcely did they deliberate, but reſolved to periſh at leaſt in arms.

Happily at this moment there appeared three men, deſtined to give new energy to the ſtate. Theſe were Miltiades, Ariſtides, and Themiſtocles. Their characters will beſt diſplay themſelves in the narrative of their actions. Miltiades had long carried on war in Thrace, where he had acquired a ſplendid reputation; Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, younger than himſelf, had from their infancy manifeſted a rivalry, which would have been the ruin of the ſtate [f], had they not ſacrificed it, on all emergent occaſions,

[e] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 102.
[f] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 319.

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to the public welfare. A ſingle ſtroke is ſufficient to paint Ariſtides; he was the moſt juſt and moſt virtuous of the Athenians: but many are neceſſary to deſcribe the talents, the reſources, and the views of Themiſtocles; he loved his country, but he loved glory ſtill more than his country.

The example and harangues of theſe three illuſtrious citizens kindled the flame of the nobleſt heroiſm in the minds of the Athenians. Levies were immediately made. Each of the ten tribes furniſhed a thouſand foot ſoldiers, with a commander at their head. To complete this number it was neceſſary to enrol the ſlaves[g]. No ſooner were the troops aſſembled, than they marched out of the city into the plain of Marathon, where the inhabitants of Platæa in Bœotia ſent them a reinforcement of a thouſand infantry[h].

Scarcely were the two armies in ſight of each other, before Miltiades propoſed to at-

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[g] Pauſan. lib. 1, p. 79.
[h] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 108. Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 9.

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tack the enemy[1]. Ariſtides and ſeveral of the commanders warmly ſupported this meaſure: but the reſt, terrified at the exceſſive diſproportion of the armies, were deſirous of waiting for the ſuccours from Lacedæmon. Opinions being divided, they had recourſe to that of the polemarch, or chief of the militia, who is conſulted on ſuch occaſions, to put an end to the equality of ſuffrages. Miltiades addreſſed himſelf to him, with the ardour of a man deeply impreſſed with the importance of preſent circumſtances: "Athens," ſaid he to him, "is on the point of experiencing the greateſt of viciſſitudes. Ready to become the firſt power of Greece, or the theatre of the tyranny and fury of Hippias, from you alone, Callimachus, ſhe now awaits her deſtiny. If we ſuffer the ardour of the troops to cool, they will ſhamefully bow beneath the Perſian yoke; but if we lead them on to battle, the gods and victory will favour us. A

[1] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 109. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321.

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word from your mouth muſt now precipitate your country into ſlavery, or preſerve her liberty."

Callimachus gave his ſuffrage, and the battle was reſolved. To enſure ſucceſs, Ariſtides, and the other generals, after his example, yielded to Miltiades the honour of the command which belonged to them in rotation: but, to ſecure them from every hazard, he preferred waiting for the day, which of right placed him at the head of the army [k].

When that day arrived, Miltiades drew up his troops at the foot of a mountain, on a ſpot of ground ſcattered over with trees, to impede the Perſian cavalry. The Platæans were placed on the left wing; Callimachus commanded the right; Ariſtides and Themiſtocles were in the centre of the battle [l], and Miltiades every where. An interval of eight ſtadia * ſeparated the Grecian army from that of the Perſians [m].

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[k] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 110. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321.
[l] Id. ibid. Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 5.
* Nearly a mile.
[m] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 112.

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At the firſt ſignal the Greeks advanced over this ſpace running. The Perſians, aſtoniſhed at a mode of attack ſo novel to both nations, for a moment remained motionleſs; but to the impetuous fury of the enemy they ſoon oppoſed a more ſedate and not leſs formidable fury. After an obſtinate conflict of ſome hours, victory began to declare herſelf in the two wings of the Grecian army. The right diſperſed the enemy in the plain, while the left drove them back on a moraſs that had the appearance of a meadow, in which they ſtuck faſt and were loſt [n]. Both theſe bodies of troops now flew to the ſuccour of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, ready to give way before the flower of the Perſian troops, placed by Datis in the centre of his battle. From this moment the rout became general. The Perſians, repulſed on all ſides, found their only aſylum in the fleet, which had approached the ſhore. The conquerors purſued them with fire and ſword, and took, burnt, or

[n] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 32, p. 80.

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ſunk, the greater part of their veſſels: the reſt eſcaped by dint of rowing [o].

The Perſian army loſt about ſix thouſand four hundred men; that of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two heroes [p], for not a man but merited that title on this occaſion. Miltiades was wounded; Hippias was left dead on the field, as were Steſileus and Callimachus, two of the Athenian generals [q].

Scarcely was the battle over, when a ſoldier worn out with fatigue forms the project of carrying the firſt news of ſo ſignal a ſucceſs to the magiſtrates of Athens, and without quitting his arms, he runs, flies, arrives, announces the victory, and falls dead at their feet [r].

This victory nevertheleſs would have proved fatal to the Greeks but for the activity of Miltiades. Datis in his retreat had conceived the hope of ſurpriſing Athens, which he imagined to be without defence,

[o] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 115. Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 9.
[p] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 117.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 114.
[r] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 347.

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and his fleet had already doubled cape Sunium. No ſooner was Miltiades informed of this than he began his march, arrived the ſame day under the walls of the city, by his preſence diſconcerted the projects of the enemy, and obliged them to retire to the coaſts of Aſia [s].

The battle was fought [t] on the 6th of Boedromion, in the third year of the ſeventy-ſecond Olympiad *. The next day two thouſand Spartans arrived. In three days and nights [u] they had marched twelve hundred ſtadia †. Though informed of the defeat of the Perſians, they continued their march to Marathon, nor did they enviouſly ſhun to behold thoſe fields where a rival nation had ſignalized itſelf by ſo heroic an action: they there beheld the tents of the Perſians ſtill ſtanding, the plain ſtrewed over with dead, and covered with coſtly

[s] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 116.
[t] Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. iii. p. 149.
* The 29th September, of the year 490 before Chriſt.
[u] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 163. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 698.
† About 46 leagues and a half.

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ſpoils: they there found Ariſtides, who with his tribe was guarding the priſoners and booty, and did not retire until they had beſtowed juſt applauſes on the victors [x].

The Athenians neglected nothing to eternize the memory of thoſe who fell in the battle. Honourable funerals were beſtowed on them; their names were engraven on half columns erected on the plain of Marathon. Theſe monuments, not excepting thoſe of the generals Callimachus and Steſileus, are in a ſtyle of the greateſt ſimplicity [y]. In the intervals between them were erected trophies bearing the arms of the Perſians. An artiſt of eminence had painted all the circumſtances of the battle, in one of the moſt frequented porticos of the city: Miltiades was there repreſented at the head of the generals, and in the act of exhorting the troops to fight for their country [z].

Darius received the news of the defeat

[x] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 120. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 321. Id. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 861.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 32, p. 79.
[z] Nep. in Milt. cap. 6.

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of his army with indignation; and every one trembled for the fate of the Eretrians, whom Datis was conducting to his feet. But no ſooner did he behold them than pity ſuperſeded every other ſentiment in his heart [a]: he diſtributed lands among them at ſome diſtance from Suſa; and, to avenge himſelf of the Greeks in a manner more noble and more worthy of himſelf, immediately ordered freſh levies, and made immenſe preparations.

The Athenians themſelves were not long before they revenged his diſgrace on their general. They had raiſed Miltiades ſo high, that he began to be the object of their fear. Jealouſy ſuggeſted, that during his command in Thrace he had exerciſed all the rights of ſovereignty [b]; that formidable as he was to foreign nations, and idolized by the Athenian people, it was time to keep a vigilant eye on his virtues as well as his glory. The ill ſucceſs of an expedition he had un-

[a] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 119.
[b] Nep. in Milt. cap. 8.

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dertaken againſt the iſle of Paros, furniſhed a new pretext to the hatred of his enemies. He was accuſed of ſuffering himſelf to be corrupted by Perſian money, and, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations and remonſtrances of the moſt virtuous citizens, was condemned to be thrown into the dungeon in which malefactors are left to periſh [c]. The magiſtracy oppoſing the execution of this infamous decree, his puniſhment was commuted into a fine of fifty talents; and as he was unable to pay this ſum, Athens ſaw the vanquiſher of Darius expire in chains, of the wounds he had received in the ſervice of the ſtate [d].

Theſe dreadful examples of injuſtice and ingratitude on the part of a ſovereign or a nation, diſcourage neither ambition nor virtue. They are ſhoals in the track of honour, like rocks in the midſt of the ocean. Themiſtocles and Ariſtides aſſumed over the Athenians that ſuperiority which the one merited by the diverſity of his talents, and

[c] Plat. in Gorg. t. ii. p. 516.
[d] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 136. Nep. in Milt. cap. 7.

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the other by the uniformity of a conduct wholly devoted to the public good. The former, agitated day and night by the recollection of the trophies of Miltiades [e], never ceased by new decrees to flatter the pride of a people intoxicated with their victory; the latter employed himself only in maintaining the laws and manners, to which they were indebted for it. These two men, diametrically opposite in their principles and projects, so filled the place of assembly with their dissensions, that Aristides, after having one day gained an advantage over his adversary, contrary to all reason, could not refrain from saying, that the republic was ruined if both Themistocles and himself were not thrown into a dungeon [f].

Talents and intrigue at length triumphed over virtue. As Aristides offered himself as the arbitrator of the differences of individuals, the reputation of his justice caused the tribunals to be almost deserted. The fac-

[e] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 113.
[f] Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 320.

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tion of Themiſtocles accuſed him of erecting in his own perſon a ſovereign power, the more to be dreaded, as it was founded on the love of the people, and called for the puniſhment of exile. The tribes aſſembled, and were to give their ſuffrages in writing. Ariſtides was preſent while they voted, when an obſcure citizen, ſeated beſide him, deſired him to write the name of the accuſed on a ſmall ſhell, which he preſented for that purpoſe. "Has he done you any injury?" ſaid Ariſtides. "No," anſwered this ſtranger, "but I am diſguſted with hearing him every where called *the Juſt*." Ariſtides wrote his name, was condemned, and departed from the city, offering up prayers for the proſperity of his country [g].

His baniſhment took place ſhortly after the death of Darius. That prince at once menaced Greece which had refuſed to ſubmit to the Perſian yoke, and Egypt which had ſhaken it off [h]. His ſon Xerxes was

[g] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 322. Nep. in Ariſtid. cap. 1.
[h] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 1.

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the heir to his throne *, without inheriting any of his great qualities. Educated in a high opinion of his power; juſt and beneficent by ſallies; unjuſt and cruel from weakneſs; almoſt always incapable of bearing with moderation either ſucceſs or the reverſe of fortune, the only diſtinctive features that conſtantly marked his character were extreme violence [i] and exceſſive puſillanimity.

After puniſhing the Egyptians for their revolt, and fooliſhly aggravating the weight of their chains [k], he would perhaps have peaceably enjoyed his vengeance, but for one of thoſe baſe courtiers who ſacrifice, without remorſe, the blood of thouſands to their own private intereſts. Mardonius, whom the honour of eſpouſing the ſiſter of his maſter [l] had inſpired with the moſt extravagant pretenſions, wiſhed to command armies to efface the diſhonour he had ſuffered in his former expedition, and bring

* The year 485 before Chriſt.
[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 698.
[k] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 7.
[l] Id. lib. 6, cap. 43.

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Greece under ſubjection that he might become its governor and indulge his love of rapine. He eaſily perſuaded Xerxes to undertake the uniting of that country and the reſt of Europe to the empire of the Perſians [m]. War was determined on, and all Aſia thrown into commotion.

To the prodigious preparations made by Darius, were added others ſtill more tremendous. Four years [n] were employed in levying troops, forming magazines on the road the army was to paſs, conveying to the ſea coaſts warlike ſtores and proviſions, and building gallies and tranſport veſſels in all the ports.

At length the king departed from Suſa, perſuaded that he was about to extend the limits of his empire, even to thoſe climes where the ſun finiſhes his courſe [o]. On his arrival at Sardes in Lydia, he ſent heralds through all Greece except to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. Their commiſſion

[m] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 5. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11, p. 1.
[n] Herodot. ibid. cap. 20.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 8.

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was to receive the homage of the islands and the nations of the continent, many of whom submitted to the Persians [p].

In the spring of the fourth year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad * Xerxes repaired to the shores of the Hellespont with the most numerous army that ever had laid waste the earth [q]. He there wished to contemplate at one view the spectacle of his power; and from a lofty throne beheld the sea covered with his ships and the land overspread with his army [r].

The coast of Asia at this place is separated from that of Europe [s] only by an arm of the sea, seven stadia in breadth †. Two bridges of boats secured by anchors joined the opposite shores. The building of these had been at first entrusted to some Egyptians and Phœnicians. A violent tempest having destroyed their

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[p] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 32. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 2.
* The year 480 before Christ.
[q] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 20.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 44.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 34. Æschyl. in Pers. v. 747.
† See note VI. at the end of the volume.

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work, Xerxes ordered the heads of the workmen to be ſtruck off; and treating the ſea as a revolted ſlave, commanded it to be ſcourged, marked with a hot iron, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it [t]; yet was this prince followed by ſeveral millions of men!

His troops employed ſeven days and nights in paſſing the ſtrait [u]; his baggage a whole month [x]. Thence taking his courſe by Thrace, and coaſting along the ſea [y], he arrived in the plain of Doriſcus, watered by the Hebrus, a convenient ſituation, not only to give repoſe to and procure refreſhments for his ſoldiers, but to facilitate the muſtering and review of the army.

This was found to conſiſt of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand horſe [z]. Twenty thouſand Arabs and Libyans conducted the camels and the waggons. Xerxes, mounted on a car, paſſed

[t] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 35.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 56.
[x] Id. lib. 8, cap. 51.
[y] Id. lib. 7, cap. 59.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 60 et 87.

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through all the ranks; he next went on board the fleet, which had approached the ſhore, and was compoſed of twelve hundred and ſeven gallies with three benches of oars[a]. Each of them would contain two hundred men, and the whole together two hundred and forty-one thouſand four hundred men. They were accompanied by three thouſand tranſport veſſels, in which it may be preſumed there were two hundred and forty thouſand more.

Such were the forces he had brought from Aſia; and theſe were ſoon augmented by three hundred thouſand fighting men from Thrace, Macedonia, Pæonia, and other European countries which had ſubmitted to the Perſian power. The neighbouring iſlands furniſhed upwards of a hundred and twenty gallies, containing twenty-four thouſand men[b]. If to this immenſe multitude we add an almoſt equal number of neceſſary or uſeleſs hands, who followed the

[a] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 100 et 184. Iſocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 166.

[b] Herodot. ibid. cap. 185.

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army, we ſhall find that five millions of men[c] had been torn from their native homes, and were preparing to deſtroy whole nations, to gratify the ambition of an individual named Mardonius.

After the review of the army and the fleet, Xerxes ſent for king Demaratus, who, having been exiled ſome years before from Lacedæmon, had found an aſylum at the court of Suſa.

"Do you imagine," ſaid he, "that the Greeks will dare to reſiſt my forces[d]?" Demaratus having obtained permiſſion to ſpeak the truth, replied, "The Greeks are to be feared, becauſe they are poor and virtuous. Without pronouncing the eulogium of the other ſtates, I ſhall only ſpeak to you of the Lacedæmonians. They will ſcorn the idea of ſlavery. Should all Greece ſubmit to your arms, they will be but the more ardent in defence of their liberty. Enquire not the number of their troops; were they

[c] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 205.
[d] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 101.

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but a ſingle thouſand, nay, were they ſtill fewer, they would preſent themſelves to the combat!"

The Perſian king at hearing this laughed aloud; and, after comparing his forces with thoſe of the Lacedæmonians: "Do you not ſee," added he, "that the greateſt part of my ſoldiers would take to flight were they not retained by menaces and blows? As a ſimilar dread cannot operate on thoſe Spartans who are repreſented to us as ſo free and independent, it is evident that they will never unneceſſarily brave certain death: and what is there to conſtrain them to it?" "The law," replied Demaratus; "that law which has more power over them than you have over your ſubjects; that law which ſaith to them, Behold your enemies; the queſtion is not to number them; you muſt conquer or die[e]."

At theſe words the laughter of Xerxes redoubled. He gave his orders, and the

[e] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 104.

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army began its march, divided into three bodies, one of which followed the ſea ſhore, and the two others proceeded at ſtated diſtances through the interior part of the country [f]. The meaſures that had been adopted procured them certain means of ſubſiſtence. Three thouſand veſſels laden with proviſions kept along the coaſt, regulating their motions by thoſe of the army. The Egyptians and Phœnicians had previouſly ſtored many of the maritime towns of Thrace and Macedonia [g], and the Perſians, at every ſtation, were fed and provided with every thing by the inhabitants of the adjacent countries, who, long apprized of their arrival, were prepared for their reception [h].

Whilſt the army was purſuing its way towards Theſſaly, ravaging the country; conſuming, in a ſingle day, the harveſts of whole years; and dragging to the combat the nations it had reduced to indigence;

[f] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 121.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 25.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 118 et 119.

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the fleet of Xerxes croſſed, inſtead of doubling, Mount Athos.

This mountain extends itſelf in a peninſula, annexed to the continent only by an iſthmus of twelve ſtadia in breadth *. The Perſian fleet had experienced, ſome years before, the danger of this coaſt [i]. They might now have conveyed the fleet over the iſthmus by the labour of men: but Xerxes had ordered it to be cut through, and a number of workmen were long employed in digging a canal in which two gallies might ſail abreaſt [k]. Xerxes beheld their ſucceſs, and imagined that, after throwing a bridge over the ſea, and opening a paſſage through mountains, nothing could withſtand his power.

The fears which had agitated Greece for many years were now approaching the cataſtrophe. Ever ſince the battle of Marathon, the news brought from Aſia an-

* About half a league.
[i] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 44.
[k] Id. lib. 7, cap. 23 et 24.

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nounced nothing but projects of vengeance on the part of the great king [l], and that the preparations ſuſpended by the death of Darius were reſumed with greater vigour by his ſon Xerxes.

Whilſt the latter monarch was buſily employed in theſe, two Spartans ſuddenly made their appearance at the court of Suſa, and were admitted to an audience of the king, but conſtantly refuſed to proſtrate themſelves before him in the manner of the eaſtern nations. "King of the Medes," ſaid they, "the Lacedæmonians put to death, ſome years ago, the ambaſſadors of Darius. They owe a ſatisfaction to Perſia: we come to offer you our heads." Theſe two Spartans, named Sperthias and Bulis, learning that the gods, irritated at the murder of the Perſian ambaſſadors, rejected the ſacrifices of the Lacedæmonians, had devoted themſelves for the ſalvation of their country [m].

[l] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 698.
[m] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 136. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 235.

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Xerxes, ſurpriſed at their firmneſs, aſtoniſhed them no leſs by his anſwer: "Go, ſay to Lacedæmon," replied he, "that if ſhe be capable of violating the law of nations, I am incapable of following her example; nor will I expiate, by taking away your lives, the crime with which ſhe has polluted herſelf."

Some time after, Xerxes being at Sardes, three Athenian ſpies were diſcovered, who, had found means to gain admiſſion into the Perſian army. The king, far from condemning them to die, ordered that they ſhould be permitted to take, at their leiſure, an exact account of his forces, flattering himſelf that, at their return, the Greeks would loſe no time in ſubmitting to his power [n]. But the relation they gave only ſerved to confirm the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in the reſolution they had before taken to form a general league among the nations of Greece. They aſſembled a council on the iſthmus of Co-

[n] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 146.

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rinth; and their deputies flew from city to city, endeavouring to communicate the ſame ardour with which they themſelves were animated. The pythia of Delphi inceſſantly interrogated and inceſſantly ſurrounded with preſents; ſtriving to conciliate the honour of her miniſtry with the intereſted views of the prieſts, and the ſecret wiſhes of all who conſulted her; now exhorted the nations to remain inactive, and now augmented their alarms by the miſeries ſhe announced, and their uncertainty by the impenetrable obſcurity of her anſwers.

The Argives were preſſed to enter into the confederation [o]. Six thouſand of their ſoldiers, among whom was the choice body of their youth, had lately periſhed in an expedition into Argolis, under Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon [p]. Exhauſted by this loſs, they had obtained an oracle forbidding them to take up arms: they afterwards deſired to command part of the army of the

[o] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 145.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 148.

Greeks,

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Greeks, and complaining of a refusal which they expected, they remained quiet [q], and concluded by carrying on a secret correspondence with the king of Persia [r].

More reasonable expectations had been formed from the assistance of Gelon, king of Syracuse. This prince, by his victories and talents, had recently subdued several Grecian colonies, which should naturally fly to the defence of their mother country. The deputies of Lacedæmon and Athens being admitted into his presence, Syagrus the Spartan was their speaker; who, after saying a few words of the forces and projects of Xerxes, contented himself with representing to Gelon, that the ruin of Greece would necessarily be followed by that of Sicily [s].

The king answered with emotion, that in his wars with the Carthaginians, and on other occasions, he had implored the assist-

[q] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 148. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. 3. p. 692. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 3.
[r] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 12.
[s] Id. lib. 7, cap. 157.

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ance of the allied powers, without obtaining it; that their danger alone now forced them to have recourſe to him; that, nevertheleſs, forgetting theſe juſt motives of complaint, he was ready to furniſh two hundred gallies, twenty thouſand heavy armed troops, four thouſand horſemen, two thouſand archers, and as many ſlingers: "I will beſides engage," added he, "to procure the neceſſary proviſions for the whole army during the war; but I require one condition, which is to be named generaliſſimo of the forces both by ſea and land."

"Oh! how would the ſhade of Agamemnon groan," haſtily replied Syagrus, "were he to learn that the Lacedæmonians have been deprived by Gelon and the Syracuſans of the honour of commanding the armies of Greece! No, never will Sparta yield to you that prerogative. If you wiſh to ſuccour Greece, it is from us you muſt receive commands; if you pretend to give them, keep your ſoldiers."—"Syagrus," ſaid the king with calmneſs, "I do

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not forget that we are bound by the ties of hoſpitality; do you, on your part, recollect, that inſulting words ſerve but to exaſperate. The haughtineſs of your anſwer ſhall not make me overſtep the bounds of moderation; and though, by my power, I have more right than you to the ſupreme command, I propoſe to you to ſhare it. Chooſe that of the land army, or of the fleet; I will accept either."

"The Greeks," inſtantly replied the Athenian ambaſſador, "do not aſk a general, but troops. I was ſilent on your firſt claims, which it was for Syagrus to annul: but I declare, that if the Lacedæmonians yield up any part of the command, it by right devolves on the Athenians[t]."

On theſe words, Gelon diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, and loſt no time in ſending off to Delphi a perſon of the name of Cadmus, with orders to wait there the event of the battle; to withdraw if the Greeks were victors; and if vanquiſhed to offer to Xerxes

[t] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 161.

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the homage of his crown, accompanied with rich preſents [w].

Nor were the greater part of the negociations ſet on foot by the confederate cities attended with any better ſucceſs. The inhabitants of Crete conſulted the oracle, which commanded them not to interfere in the affairs of Greece [x]. The Corcyreans fitted out ſixty gallies, which they ſent to ſea with orders to remain peaceably on the ſouthern coaſts of Peloponneſus, and to declare in favour of the conquerors [y].

In fine the Theſſalians, who by the influence of ſeveral of their chiefs had been hitherto engaged on the part of the Medes, ſignified to the council that they were ready to guard the paſs of Mount Olympus, which leads from the lower Macedonia into Theſſaly, if the other Greeks would ſecond their efforts [z]. Ten thouſand men were immediately ſent off, under the command of

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[w] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 163.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 169.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 168. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 13.
[z] Herodot. ibid. cap. 172.

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Evenetus of Lacedæmon, and Themiſtocles of Athens: they arrived on the banks of the Peneus, and encamped with the Theſſalian cavalry, at the entrance of the vale of Tempe; but learning ſome days after, that the Perſian army could penetrate into Theſſaly by an eaſier road, and ſome deputies of Alexander, king of Macedon, apprizing them of the danger of their ſituation, they retired towards the iſthmus of Corinth; and the Theſſalians determined to make their peace with the Perſians.

There remained then for the defence of Greece only a ſmall number of ſtates and cities. Themiſtocles was the ſoul of their councils, and ſupported their hopes; alternately employing perſuaſion and addreſs, prudence and activity; actuating every mind, leſs by the force of eloquence than by his ſtrength of character; ever directed himſelf by a genius uncultivated by art, and which nature had deſtined to govern men and events: a kind of inſtinct, whoſe ſudden inſpirations unveiled to him every thing he

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had to hope or dread for the preſent or the future [a].

For ſome years paſt he had foreſeen that the battle of Marathon was but the prelude of the wars with which the Greeks were menaced; that they never had been in greater danger than ſince their victory; that to ſecure the ſuperiority they had acquired, they muſt abandon the methods by which it had been obtained; that they would always be maſters of the continent, could they but be ſo of the ſea; and that in ſhort a time would come when the general ſafety would depend on that of Athens, and the ſafety of Athens on the number of her ſhips.

In conſequence of theſe reflections, equally new and important, he had undertaken to effect a total change in the ideas of the Athenians, and to turn their views to the eſtabliſhment of a navy. Two circumſtances enabled him to execute his plan.

[a] Thucydid. lib. 1, cap. 138. Plut. in Themiſt. t. i, p. 112. Nep. in Themiſt. cap. 1, &c.

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The Athenians were at war with the inhabitants of the iſland of Ægina; they had to divide at the ſame time conſiderable ſums ariſing from their ſilver mines. He perſuaded them to forego this diſtribution, and to build two hundred gallies, either to attack the Æginetæ, or to defend themſelves againſt the future attacks of the Perſians [b]: theſe gallies were in the ports of Attica at the time of the invaſion of Xerxes.

Whilſt this prince was continuing his march, it was reſolved in the council of the iſthmus that a body of troops, under the command of Leonidas, king of Sparta, ſhould take poſſeſſion of the paſs of Thermopylæ, ſituated between Theſſaly and Locris [c]; that the fleet of the Greeks ſhould wait for that of the Perſians in the adjoining ſeas, in a ſtrait formed by the coaſts of Theſſaly and Eubœa.

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[b]. Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 144. Thucydid. lib. 1, cap. 14. Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 113.

[c] Herodot. ibid. cap. 175. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 4.

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The Athenians, who were to fit out a hundred and twenty-ſeven gallies, alleged that they had more right to the command of the fleet than the Lacedæmonians, who furniſhed only ten [d]. But ſeeing that the allies threatened to withdraw unleſs they were headed by a Spartan, they deſiſted from their claim. Eurybiades was elected general, and had under him Themiſtocles and the leaders of the other nations [e].

The fleet, conſiſting of two hundred and eighty veſſels [f], repaired to the place of its deſtination, and remained on the coaſts of Eubœa, in a ſtrait named Artemiſium.

Leonidas, having been informed of the choice of the council, foreſaw his fate, and ſubmitted to it with that greatneſs of ſoul which then characterized his nation: he choſe to accompany him only three hundred Spartans, who equalled him in courage, and with whoſe ſentiments he was perfectly

[d] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 1. Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 206.
[e] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 115.
[f] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 1.

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acquainted [g]. The ephori having repreſented to him, that ſo ſmall a number of ſoldiers could not ſuffice: "They are very few," anſwered he, "to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, but too many for the object they have in view." "And what then is that object?" demanded the ephori. "Our duty," replied he, "is to defend the paſs; our reſolution to periſh in it. Three hundred victims ſuffice for the honour of Sparta. She would be irreparably loſt did ſhe entruſt me with all her warriors; for I am convinced that not a ſingle man among them would even think of flight [h]."

Some days after, Lacedæmon exhibited a ſpectacle which it is impoſſible to recollect without emotion. The companions of Leonidas previouſly honoured his death and their own by a funeral combat, at which their fathers and mothers attended [i]. This ceremony ended, they left the city,

[g] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 205.
[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 4. Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 225.
[i] Plut. de Herodot. Malign. p. 866.

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followed by their relations and friends, from whom they received an eternal farewell; at which time the wife of Leonidas aſking him his laſt wiſhes: "I wiſh you," ſaid he to her, "a huſband worthy of you, and children who may reſemble him [k]."

Leonidas haſtened his march; ſince he was anxious, by his example, to retain in their duty ſeveral cities ready to declare for the Perſians [l]. He paſſed through the country of the Thebans, whoſe fidelity was ſuſpected, but who nevertheleſs furniſhed him with four hundred men; after which he proceeded on his march and encamped at Thermopylæ [m].

Soon after arrived ſucceſſively a thouſand ſoldiers from Tegea and Mantinea, a hundred and twenty from Orchomenus, a thouſand from the other cities of Arcadia, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, eighty from Mycenæ, ſeven hundred

[k] Plut. de Herodot. Malign. p. 866; et Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.
[l] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 206.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 205. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 5.

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from Theſpia, and a thouſand from Phocis. The little nation of the Locrians repaired to the camp with all its forces [n].

This detachment, which amounted to about ſeven thouſand men *, was to be followed by the whole army of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians were detained at home by a feſtival; the other allies were preparing for the ſolemnity of the Olympic games; and all imagined that Xerxes was yet far diſtant from Thermopylæ [o].

This paſs is the only road by which an army can penetrate from Theſſaly into Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, Attica, and the adjacent countries [p]. It will be neceſſary to give a ſuccinct deſcription of it.

On quitting Phocis to go into Theſſaly †, we paſs by the little country of the Locrians, and arrive at the town of Alpenus, ſituated by the ſea [q]. As it ſtands at the

[n] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 202.
* See note VII. at the end of the volume.
[o] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 206.
[p] Liv. lib. 36, cap. 15.
† See the map.
[q] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 176.

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entrance of the ſtrait, it has been fortified in theſe modern times [r].

The road at firſt is only wide enough for the paſſage of a waggon [s]; but it afterwards enlarges itſelf between moraſſes formed by the waters of the ſea [t], and almoſt inacceſſible rocks, which terminate the chain of mountains known by the name of Œta [u].

Scarcely have we left Alpenus, before we diſcover on the left a ſtone conſecrated to Hercules Melampygus; and fall in with a path which leads to the ſummit of the mountain [x]. Of this path I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak.

Farther on, the traveller croſſes a current of hot water, whence this place has acquired the name of Thermopylæ [y].

Near to this ſtream is the town of Anthela; and in the plain which ſurrounds it

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[r] Æſchin. de Falſ. Legat. p. 416.
[s] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 176.
[t] Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 7, cap. 15, p. 558.
[u] Strab. lib. 9, p. 428. Liv. lib. 36, cap. 15.
[x] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 216.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 176. Strab. Liv. &c.

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a small eminence [z], and a temple of Ceres, in which the Amphictyons annually hold one of their assemblies.

On coming out of the plain, we meet with a road, or rather causeway, only about seven or eight feet wide. This part is particularly to be noticed: the Phocians had formerly built a wall here, to protect their country from the inroads of the Thessalians [a].

After passing the Phœnix, which at last falls into the Asopus, a river that rises in an adjoining valley, we come to the last defile half a plethrum in breadth *.

The road then widens as far as Trachinia, which takes its name from the city of Trachis [b], and is inhabited by the Malians [c]. This country presents the traveller with extensive plains watered by the Sperchius and other rivers. To the east of Trachis now

[z] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 225.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 176.
* Fifteen or sixteen yards.
[b] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 199.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 92. Palmer. Exercit. in Opti.n. Aut. p. 275.

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ſtands the city of Heraclea, which did not exiſt in the time of Xerxes [d].

The whole ſtrait, from the defile before we arrive at Alpenus to that which is beyond the Phœnix, may be about forty-eight ſtadia in length *. Its breadth varies almoſt at every ſtep; but through its whole extent it is ſhut in on one ſide by ſteep mountains, and on the other by the ſea, or impenetrable moraſſes [e]. The road is often deſtroyed by the torrents, or by ſtagnant waters [f].

Leonidas poſted his little army near Anthela [g], rebuilt the wall of the Phocians, and diſpatched a few advanced troops to defend the approaches. But it was not ſufficient to guard the paſſage at the foot of the mountain: there was on the mountain itſelf a path, which beginning at the plain of Trachis, terminated, after various

[d] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 92.
* About two leagues.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 10, p. 849.
[f] Strab. lib. 9, p. 428.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 7, p. 558. Liv. lib. 36, cap. 15.

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windings, near the town of Alpenus. Leonidas entruſted the defence of this path to the thouſand Phocians he had with him, and who took poſt on the heights of Mount Œta [h].

Scarcely were theſe diſpoſitions completed, before the army of Xerxes was diſcovered, ſpreading itſelf over Trachinia, and covering the plain with its innumerable tents [i]. At ſight of this, the Greeks deliberated on the meaſures to be adopted. The greater part of the generals were for retiring to the iſthmus; but Leonidas rejecting this counſel, they contented themſelves with diſpatching couriers, to haſten the ſuccours of the allied cities [k].

A Perſian horſeman now appeared, ſent by Xerxes to reconnoitre the enemy. The advanced poſt of the Greeks was that day compoſed of the Spartans, ſome of whom were exerciſing themſelves in wreſtling, others combing their hair: for in ſimilar

[h] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 175 et 217.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 201.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 207.

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dangers their first care is to decorate their heads. The horseman was permitted to approach to number them, and to retire without any person deigning to pay attention to him. As the wall concealed from him the rest of the army, he only gave an account to Xerxes of the three hundred men he had seen at the entrance of the defile [l].

The king, astonished at the tranquillity of the Lacedæmonians, waited a few days to give them time for reflection [m]. On the fifth day he wrote to Leonidas: "If thou wilt submit to my power, I will give thee the empire of Greece." Leonidas answered: "I rather choose to die for, than to enslave my country." A second letter from the king contained only these words: "Surrender thy arms." Leonidas wrote underneath: "Come and take them [n]."

Xerxes, transported with rage, immediately gave orders for the Medes and Cissians to

[l] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 208.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 210.
[n] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.

 march,

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march [o], commanding them to take these men alive, and instantly to bring them to him. Some soldiers running to Leonidas, said to him: "The Persians are near us." To which he coolly replied: "Rather say, that we are near the Persians [p]." He immediately advanced out of his entrenchment, with the choicest of his troops, and gave the signal for the battle. The Medes rushed on with fury: their first ranks fell covered with wounds; and those who replaced them quickly experienced the same fate. The Greeks, pressing close against each other, and covered with large bucklers, presented an impenetrable front of long pikes, and a phalanx which fresh troops successively attempted in vain to break. After several fruitless attacks, the Medes were seized with a panic; they fled, and were relieved by the chosen body of the ten thousand immortals commanded by Hydarnes [q]. The action now became more bloody: the valour each

[o] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 210.
[p] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 7.

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ſide diſplayed was perhaps equal; but the Greeks had in their favour the advantage of ſituation, and the ſuperiority of arms. The pikes of the Perſians were too ſhort, and their bucklers too ſmall[r]: they loſt a great number of men; and Xerxes, witneſs of their flight, leaped, as it is ſaid, more than once from his chariot, and trembled for his army.

The next day the attack was renewed, but with ſo little ſucceſs on the part of the Perſians, that Xerxes deſpaired of forcing the paſſage. His proud and puſillanimous mind was agitated by anxiety and ſhame, when an inhabitant of thoſe diſtricts, named Epialtes, came to diſcover to him the fatal path by which he might turn the Grecians. Xerxes, tranſported with joy, immediately detached Hydarnes with the corps of the immortals[s]. Epialtes ſerved them as a guide. They began their march as night came on, made their way through

[r] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 211.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 215. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 7. Strab. lib. 9, p. 10.

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the foreſt of oaks which covered the ſides of the mountains, and arrived near the ſpot where Leonidas had poſted a detachment of his army.

Hydarnes took this for a body of Spartans, but, encouraged by Epialtes, who knew the Phocians, prepared to attack them. After a ſlight defence, they took refuge on the adjoining heights, leaving the Perſians to purſue their march.

During the night, Leonidas had been informed of their project by ſome deſerters who had eſcaped from the camp of Xerxes; and the next morning learnt their ſucceſs by the arrival of the centinels ſtationed on the top of the mountain. At this dreadful news the leaders of the Greeks aſſembled. As ſome of them were of opinion to retreat from Thermopylæ, and others to remain, Leonidas conjured them to reſerve themſelves for more fortunate opportunities, and declared that, as for himſelf and his companions, it was not permitted them to quit a poſt that Sparta had confided to their care [t].

[t] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 220. Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 11.

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The Theſpians proteſted that they would not abandon the Spartans; and the four hundred Thebans, whether voluntarily or through neceſſity, adopted the ſame reſolution [u]; the remainder of the army had time to march out of the defile.

In the mean time Leonidas prepared for the moſt arduous of enterpriſes. "It is not here," ſaid he to his companions, "that we muſt combat: we muſt march to the tent of Xerxes, ſacrifice the invader, or periſh in the midſt of his camp." His ſoldiers anſwered only by a ſhout of joy. He then made them take a frugal repaſt, adding: "We ſhall ſoon take another with Pluto." Expreſſions like theſe could not but leave a profound impreſſion in their minds. When on the point of attacking the enemy, he was moved with the fate of two Spartans, united to him by blood and friendſhip; to the firſt he gave a letter, and to the ſecond a ſecret commiſſion for the magiſtrates of Lacedæmon. "We came not

[u] Herodot. ibid. cap. 222. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 865.

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here," replied they, " to carry orders, but to fight;" and, without waiting for his anſwer, took their places in the ranks aſſigned to them [x].

In the middle of the night, the Greeks, with Leonidas at their head, iſſued out of the defile, advanced with haſty ſteps through the plain, overthrew the advanced poſts, and penetrated to the tent of Xerxes, who had already taken flight: they entered the adjoining tents, ſpread over the camp, and glutted themſelves with carnage. The terror they inſpired was increaſed at every ſtep, and every inſtant, with the moſt dreadful circumſtances. Confuſed rumours and lamentable cries affirmed that the troops of Hydarnes were cut off, and that the whole army muſt ſoon be deſtroyed by the combined forces of Greece. The moſt courageous of the Perſians, no longer able to hear the voice of their generals, nor knowing whither to bend their ſteps, or to direct

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 8. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 866. Id. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 225. Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 11.

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their blows, threw themſelves at random into the battle, and were periſhing by the hands of each other, when the firſt rays of the ſun enabled them to diſcover the inconſiderable number of the victors. They inſtantly form, and attack the Greeks on all ſides. Leonidas falls beneath a ſhower of darts. The conteſt for the honour of carrying off his body brought on a terrible conflict between his companions and the moſt expert and hardy warriors of the Perſian army. Two brothers of Xerxes, a multitude of Perſians, and ſeveral Spartans, there loſt their lives. At length the Greeks, though ſpent and enfeebled by their loſſes, carried off their general, four times repulſing the enemy in their retreat; and after regaining the defile, cleared the entrenchment, and took poſt on the little eminence near Anthela; where they ſtill defended themſelves for ſome time, both againſt the troops in their purſuit, and thoſe brought againſt them by Hydarnes from the other ſide of the ſtrait [y].

[y] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 225.

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Pardon, generous ſhades, the feebleneſs of my expreſſions. I offered you a worthier homage when I viſited that eminence on which you breathed your laſt; when leaning on one of your tombs, I bathed with my tears the places ſtained with your blood. But after all, what is it that eloquence can add to ſo ſublime and ſo extraordinary a ſacrifice? The memory of your heroic deeds will remain longer than the Perſian empire you reſiſted; and to the end of ages your example will produce in every heart that loves its country the rapture or the enthuſiaſm of admiration.

Before the action was terminated, it is ſaid that ſome Thebans ſurrendered to the Perſians [z]. The Theſpians ſhared in the exploits and deſtiny of the Spartans, yet the glory of the Spartans has almoſt eclipſed that of the Theſpians. Amongſt the cauſes which have influenced the public opinion, it muſt be obſerved that the reſolution to periſh at Thermopylæ was, with

[z] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 233.

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the former, a plan conceived, determined on, and purſued with as much coolneſs as conſtancy; whereas it was but a ſally of bravery and virtue in the latter, when ſtimulated by example. The Theſpians only roſe ſuperior to other men, becauſe the Spartans roſe ſuperior to themſelves.

Lacedæmon prides herſelf in the death of her warriors. Every thing that relates to them juſtly engages the attention. Whilſt they were at Thermopylæ, a Trachinian, to impreſs them with a high idea of the numerous army of Xerxes, ſaid to them that the number of their arrows was ſufficient to obſcure the ſun. So much the better, replied the Spartan Dieneces; we ſhall then fight in the ſhade[a]. Another, ſent by Leonidas to Lacedæmon, was detained in the town of Alpenus by a defluxion in his eyes. On being told that the detachment of Hydarnes was deſcending from the mountain, and entering the defile, he inſtantly flies to arms, orders his ſlave to conduct

[a] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 226.

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him to the enemy, attacks at random, and obtained the death to which he aſpired [b].

Two other Greeks, who had been abſent likewiſe by order of the general, were, on their return, ſuſpected of not having exerted every effort to be preſent at the battle. Such a ſuſpicion covered them with infamy. The one ſlew himſelf; the only reſource of the other was to loſe his life, ſome time after, at the battle of Platæa [c].

The death of Leonidas and his companions produced a greater effect than the moſt brilliant victory; it taught the Greeks the ſecret of their power, and the Perſians that of their weakneſs [d]. Xerxes, diſmayed at finding himſelf at the head of ſuch a number of men, but ſo few ſoldiers, was not leſs alarmed to learn that Greece poſſeſſed a multitude of defenders, no leſs intrepid than the Theſpians, and eight thouſand Spartans as brave as thoſe who had now

[b] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 229.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 231 et 232.
[d] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11, p. 10.

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ſacrificed their lives [e]. On the other hand, the aſtoniſhment with which they had filled the Greeks ſoon changed into a violent deſire to imitate them. The ambition of glory, the love of country, all the virtues were carried to their higheſt elevation, and the minds of men exalted to a degree hitherto unknown. This was the time for great actions, and not a moment to be choſen for impoſing chains upon free nations.

While Xerxes was at Thermopylæ, his fleet, after meeting with a tempeſt on the coaſts of Magneſia, which deſtroyed four hundred gallies and a great number of tranſport veſſels [f], had continued its courſe, and anchored near the city of Aphetæ, in preſence of, and only at the diſtance of eighty ſtadia from, that of the Greeks [g], ſtationed to defend the paſſage between Eubœa and the main land. Here, though with ſome variation in the ſucceſs, were repeated, both in the attack and the defence,

[e] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 210 et 234.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 190.
[g] Id. lib. 8, cap. 8.

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ſeveral of the circumſtances which preceded and accompanied the attack of Thermopylæ[h].

The Greeks, at the approach of the enemy's fleet, reſolved to abandon the ſtrait; but Themiſtocles retained them[i]. Two hundred Perſian veſſels ſailed round the iſle of Eubœa, and were proceeding to ſhut in the Greeks, when a ſecond tempeſt daſhed them to pieces on the rocks[k]. During three days, ſeveral engagements took place, in which the Greeks almoſt always obtained the advantage: at length they learnt that the paſs of Thermopylæ was forced, and immediately retreated to the iſle of Salamis[l].

During this retreat, Themiſtocles landed on thoſe coaſts, to which the crews of the enemy's veſſels might be expected to reſort on account of the ſprings of water: he there left inſcriptions, addreſſed to the Io-

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[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 11.
[i] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 4 et 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 11.
[k] Herodot. ibid. cap. 7 et 13.
[l] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 21.

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nians in the army of Xerxes, reminding them that they were the deſcendants of thoſe Greeks againſt whom they now bore arms. His intention was to induce them to abandon the party of that prince, or at leaſt to render them ſuſpected [m].

In the mean time the army of the Greeks took its ſtation on the iſthmus of Corinth, and now thought only of diſputing the entrance into Peloponneſus [n]. This project diſconcerted the views of the Athenians, who had hitherto flattered themſelves that Bœotia, not Attica, would be the ſeat of war. Abandoned by their allies, perhaps they would have abandoned themſelves. But Themiſtocles, who foreſaw every future contingency, without dreading any, as he provided for every event, had adopted ſuch prudent meaſures, that this very event ſerved only to juſtify the ſyſtem of defence he had conceived from the beginning of the Median war.

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[m] Id. ibid. cap. 22. Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 12. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 116.

[n] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 40. Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 166.

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In public, and in private, he repreſented to the Athenians that it was time to quit thoſe places which the celeſtial vengeance had determined to reſign to the fury of the Perſians; that the fleet offered them a ſecure aſylum, and that they would find a new home wherever they could preſerve their liberty: theſe diſcourſes he ſeconded by oracles which he had obtained from the Pythia; and when the people were aſſembled, an incident contrived by Themiſtocles finally determined them to embrace his advice. Some prieſts declared that the ſacred ſerpent fed in the temple of Minerva had lately diſappeared *. The goddeſs forſakes her abode, exclaimed they; why ſhould we delay to follow her? The people immediately paſſed the following decree propoſed by Themiſtocles: "That the city ſhould be put under the protection of Minerva; that all the inhabitants able to bear arms ſhould go on board the ſhips; and that each individual ſhould provide for

* Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 41. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 116.

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the ſafety of his wife, his children, and ſlaves [p]." The people were ſo animated, that on coming out of the aſſembly they ſtoned Cyrſilus to death, who had ventured to propoſe ſubmiſſion to the Perſians, and inflicted the ſame puniſhment on the wife of that orator [q].

The execution of this decree exhibited a moſt affecting ſcene. The inhabitants of Attica, obliged to quit their homes, their fields, the temples of their gods, and the tombs of their anceſtors, made the plains reſound with their doleful cries. The aged, whom their infirmities rendered it impoſſible to convey from the city, were unable to tear themſelves from the arms of their diſconſolate families; the men capable of ſerving the republic received on the ſea ſhore the farewell and lamentations of their wives, their children, and thoſe to whom they owed their being [r]: they made them haſtily embark in veſſels prepared to

[p] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 116.
[q] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 507.
[r] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.

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convey them to Ægina, Trœzene, and Salamis[s], and themſelves immediately went on board the fleet overwhelmed with an exceſs of affliction which waited only for the moment of revenge.

Xerxes was at this time preparing to leave the ſtraits of Thermopylæ: the flight of the Grecian fleet had reſtored to him all his haughtineſs; he hoped to find among them that terror and diſcouragement which the flighteſt reverſe of fortune occaſioned in his own mind. Thus circumſtanced, ſome Arcadian deſerters repaired to his army, and were admitted to his preſence. They were aſked in what manner the ſtates of Peloponneſus were employed. "They are celebrating the Olympic games," anſwered they; "and are buſied in diſtributing crowns to the victors." One of the chiefs of the army inſtantly exclaiming, We are led then againſt men who fight only for glory? Xerxes reproached him with his cowardice; and conſidering the ſecurity of

[s] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 41. Pauſan. lib. 2, p. 185.

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the Greeks as an inſult, haſtened his departure [t].

He entered into Phocis. The inhabitants determined to ſacrifice every thing rather than betray the common cauſe: ſome took refuge on mount Parnaſſus; others in a neighbouring ſtate: their fields were ravaged, and their cities deſtroyed by fire and ſword. Bœotia ſubmitted, except Platæa and Theſpiæ, which were razed to their foundations [u].

After having laid waſte Attica, Xerxes entered Athens, where he found a few wretched old men expecting death, and a ſmall number of citizens, who, on the faith of ſome ill interpreted oracles, had reſolved to defend the citadel: for ſeveral days they repulſed the redoubled attacks of the beſiegers; but in the end, ſome threw themſelves from the top of the walls, and others were maſſacred in the holy places, where they had in vain ſought for an aſylum. The

[t] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 26.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 50.

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city was abandoned to pillage, and devoted to the flames [x].

The Perſian fleet lay at anchor in the road of Phalerum [y], diſtant twenty ſtadia from Athens *; that of the Greeks along the coaſts of Salamis. This iſland, ſituated oppoſite to Eleuſis †, forms a ſpacious bay which is entered by two ſtraits; the one to the eaſtward on the ſide of Attica; the other to the weſt on that of Megaris. The former, at the entrance of which is the little iſland Pſyttalia, may, in ſome places, be from ſeven to eight ſtadia in breadth ‡, and in others much wider; the latter is not ſo broad.

The burning of Athens made ſuch an impreſſion on the Greeks, that the greater part of them reſolved to approach the iſthmus of Corinth, where the land troops were intrenched. Their departure was fixed for the next day [z].

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[x] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 53. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 35, p. 887.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 67. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 10, p. 619.
* A ſhort league.
† See the plan of the battle of Salamis.
‡ Nearly a mile.
[z] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 56.

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During the night * Themiſtocles waited on Eurybiades, the commander in chief of the fleet [a], and warmly repreſented to him, that if, in the conſternation that had taken poſſeſſion of the ſoldiers, he conducted them to places favourable to deſertion, as his authority would not be ſufficient to keep them on board the veſſels, he would ſoon find himſelf without an army, and Greece be deprived of all defence.

In conſequence of this ſuggeſtion Eurybiades ſummoned his generals to the council. All of them exclaimed againſt the propoſition of Themiſtocles; all, irritated at his obſtinacy, proceeded to offenſive language and inſulting menaces. While he was repelling with anger theſe indecent and tumultuous attacks, he ſaw the Lacedæmonian general approach him with his uplifted cane. He made a pauſe, and ſaid to him without emotion: "Strike, but hear [b]." This greatneſs of mind aſtoniſhed the Spar-

* The night between the 18th and 19th of October of the year 480 before Chriſt.

[a] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 57.

[b] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.

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tan, and occaſioned a general ſilence; when Themiſtocles reſuming his ſuperiority, but carefully avoiding to throw the leaſt ſuſpicion on the fidelity of the chiefs and troops, drew a lively picture of the advantages of the poſt they occupied, and the dangers of that they wiſhed to take: "Here," ſaid he, "encloſed within a ſtrait, we ſhall preſent a front equal to that of the enemy. Further on, the innumerable fleet of the Perſians, having room to extend itſelf, will ſurround us on all ſides. By fighting at Salamis, we ſhall preſerve that iſland in which are our wives and children; we ſhall preſerve the iſland of Ægina and the city of Megara, whoſe inhabitants are members of the confederation: if we retire to the iſthmus, we ſhall loſe theſe important places, and you, Eurybiades, will have to reproach yourſelf with having drawn the enemy on the coaſts of Peloponneſus [c]."

At theſe words Adimantus, chief of the Corinthians, an avowed partiſan of the contrary opinion, again had recourſe to in-

[c] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 61. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 13.

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ſult. "Is it for a man," ſaid he, "who has neither home, nor habitation, to give laws to Greece? Let Themiſtocles reſerve his counſels for the time when he ſhall be able to flatter himſelf he has a country."— "What then!" exclaims Themiſtocles, "ſhall any man dare, in the preſence of the Greeks, to impute to us as a crime, that we have abandoned a uſeleſs pile of ſtones to avoid ſlavery? Wretched Adimantus! Athens is deſtroyed, but the Athenians ſtill exiſt; they poſſeſs a country a thouſand times more flouriſhing than yours, in theſe two hundred veſſels that belong to them, and which I command: I ſtill offer them; but they ſhall remain where they now are. If their aſſiſtance be refuſed, be the Greek, who now hears me, whom he may, he ſhall ſoon learn that the Athenians poſſeſs a city more opulent and fields more fertile than thoſe which they have loſt [d]." And addreſſing himſelf immediately to Eurybiades: "It now," ſaid he, "lies with you to chooſe between the honour of ſaving Greece, or the

[d] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 61. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.

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diſgrace of having cauſed its ruin. I only declare to you, that after your departure we will embark our wives and children, and proceed to Italy, to found a power heretofore promiſed us by the oracle. When you ſhall have loſt ſuch allies as the Athenians, you will perhaps call to remembrance the words of Themiſtocles [e]."

The commanding firmneſs of the Athenian general was of ſuch effect, that Eurybiades gave orders that the fleet ſhould not quit the ſhores of Salamis.

Similar conſultations were held at the ſame time in both the fleets. Xerxes had convoked on board one of his veſſels the leaders of the particular diviſions of which his naval armament was compoſed. Theſe were the kings of Sidon, Tyre, Cilicia, Cyprus, and a number of other petty ſovereigns or deſpots, dependants or tributaries of Perſia. In this auguſt aſſembly appeared alſo Artemiſia, queen of Halicarnaſſus and ſome neighbouring iſlands; a princeſs whom none of the generals ſurpaſſed in courage,

[e] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 62.

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nor equalled in prudence [f]; who had followed Xerxes without compulsion, and might speak the truth to him without giving him offence.

When the generals were assembled, and had taken their places according to their ranks, the question for deliberation was proposed; which was, whether they should make a new attack on the Grecian fleet. Mardonius arose to collect the suffrages.

The king of Sidon, and the greater part of those who voted after him, being informed of the intentions of the great king, declared themselves for the battle. But Artemisia thus addressed Mardonius: "Repeat precisely to Xerxes what I am now about to say to you:—My lord, after what passed in the late naval fight, no person will suspect me of weakness or of cowardice. My zeal this day obliges me to give you a salutary counsel. Do not hazard a battle, the consequences of which would be useless or fatal to your glory. Is not the principal object of your expedition accom-

[f] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 101.

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pliſhed? You are maſter of Athens, and you will ſoon be ſo of the reſt of Greece. By keeping your fleet in action, that of your enemies, which is provided with ſubſiſtence only for a few days, will of itſelf diſperſe. Do you wiſh to accelerate that moment; ſend your veſſels to the coaſts of Peloponneſus; conduct your land forces towards the iſthmus of Corinth, and you will ſee the Grecian troops fly to the ſuccour of their country. I dread a battle, becauſe, ſo far from procuring advantages, it would endanger both your armies; I dread it, becauſe I know the ſuperiority of the Grecian navy. You are, my lord, the beſt of maſters; but you have very wretched ſervants. And what confidence, after all, can you place in that crowd of Egyptians, Cypriots, Cilicians, and Pamphilians, who fill the greateſt part of your veſſels [s]?"

Mardonius having collected all the voices, made his report to Xerxes, who, after laviſhing the higheſt encomiums on the queen

[s] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 68.

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of Halicarnaſſus, endeavoured to reconcile the advice of that princeſs with the opinion of the majority of the council. He gave orders that the fleet ſhould advance towards the iſle of Salamis, while the army marched towards the iſthmus of Corinth [h].

This ſtep produced the effect foreſeen by Artemiſia. The greater part of the generals of the Grecian fleet exclaimed that it was now time to haſten to the ſuccour of Peloponneſus. The oppoſition of the Æginetæ, Megareans, and Athenians, protracted the deliberation; but Themiſtocles at length perceiving that the contrary opinion was prevalent in the council [i], made a laſt effort to prevent its conſequences.

A man was ſent during the night * to give information from him to the chiefs of the enemy's fleet, that part of the Greeks, and the general of the Athenians at their head, were diſpoſed to declare in favour of the king; that the remainder, ſeized with

[h] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 69 et 71.
[i] Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 156.
* In the night between the 19th and 20th of October of the year 480 before Chriſt.

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conſternation, were meditating a haſty retreat; and that, enfeebled as they were by diviſions, if they ſaw themſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded by the Perſian forces they would be compelled to lay down their arms, or turn them againſt themſelves [k].

The Perſians immediately advanced, under favour of the darkneſs, and, after blocking up the avenues by which the Greeks might have eſcaped [l], they ſtationed four hundred men [m] in the iſland of Pſyttalia, ſituated between the continent and the eaſtern point of Salamis; at which place the battle was to be fought [n].

At this moment Ariſtides, whom Themiſtocles had ſome time before reſtored to the wiſhes of the Athenians [o], croſſed from the iſle of Ægina to the Grecian fleet: he had perceived this movement of the Perſians; and, as ſoon as he arrived at Salamis, repaired to the place where the generals

[k] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 75. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 14. Plut. in Them. p. 118. Nep. in Themiſt. cap. 4.
[l] Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 366. Diod. ibid.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 36, p. 88.
[n] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 76.
[o] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.

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were assembled, sent for Themistocles, and said to him: "It is time to forget our idle and puerile dissensions. One only interest ought to animate us this day, that of saving Greece, you by giving orders, and I by carrying them into execution. Tell the Greeks that deliberation now is out of the question, and that the enemy has just made himself master of the passages that might favour their flight." Themistocles, much affected with the noble conduct of Aristides, discovered to him the stratagem he had employed to induce the Persians to act as they had done, and begged him to enter the council [p]. The relation of Aristides, confirmed by other witnesses who successively arrived, broke up the assembly, and the Greeks prepared for battle.

By the reinforcements which had been received by both fleets, that of the Persians amounted to twelve hundred and seven vessels, and that of the Greeks to three hundred and eighty [q]. At break of day The-

[p] Plut. in Themist. p. 118; in Aristid. p. 323.
[q] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 184. Id. lib. 8, cap. 66 et 82.

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miſtocles embarked his ſoldiers. The Grecian fleet formed in the eaſtern ſtrait: the Athenians were on the right [r], and oppoſite to the Phœnicians; the left, compoſed of Lacedæmonians, Æginetæ, and Megareans, was oppoſed to the Ionians [s].

Xerxes wiſhing to animate his army by his preſence, placed himſelf upon a neighbouring eminence, ſurrounded by ſecretaries who were to deſcribe all the circumſtances of the engagement [t]. As ſoon as he appeared, the two wings of the Perſians began to move, and advanced as far as beyond the iſland of Pſyttalia. They preſerved their lines as long as they were able to extend them; but were compelled to break their order, as they approached the iſland and the continent [u]. Beſides this diſadvantage, they had to contend with a contrary wind [x], and the heavineſs of their veſſels which were extremely unwieldy in manœuvring, and

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[r] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 83. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 15.
[s] Id. ibid cap. 85.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 69 et 90. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 118.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 15.
[x] Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 119.

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which, ſo far from being able mutually to ſupport, were perpetually embarraſſing and ſtriking againſt each other.

The fate of the battle depended on the operations of the right wing of the Greeks, and of the Perſian left. There were placed the choiceſt forces of both fleets. The Phœnicians and Athenians alternately preſſed and repulſed each other in the ſtrait. Ariabignes, one of the brothers of Xerxes, conducted the former to the combat, as if he had been leading them to victory. Themiſtocles was preſent every where, and braved every danger. Whilſt he was reanimating or moderating the ardour of his troops, Ariabignes advanced, and ſhowered on him, as from the ſummit of a rampart, a cloud of darts and arrows. At the very inſtant an Athenian galley ruſhed with impetuoſity on the Phœnician admiral; and the indignant young prince, leaping on board the galley, fell immediately covered with wounds [7].

The death of their leader ſpread conſter-

7 Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 119. Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 89.

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nation among the Phœnicians, and the multiplicity of chiefs created a confuſion that accelerated their deſtruction: their huge veſſels driven on the rocks of the adjacent coaſts, daſhed againſt each other, and their ſides laid open by the beaks of the Athenian gallies, covered the ſea with wrecks; even the ſuccours that were ſent them ſerved only to increaſe their confuſion [z]. In vain did the Cypriots and the other nations of the eaſt attempt to renew the battle: after a long reſiſtance, they diſperſed, and followed the example of the Phœnicians [a].

Not content with this advantage, Themiſtocles led his victorious wing to the ſuccour of the Lacedæmonians and the other allies, who were defending themſelves againſt the Ionians. As the latter had read the inſcriptions left by Themiſtocles on the coaſts of Eubœa, exhorting them to forſake the party of the Perſians, it is alleged that ſome of them joined the Greeks dur-

[z] Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 413. Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 80.
[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11, p. 15.

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ing the engagement, or were only attentive to ſpare them. It is certain however that they in general fought with valour, nor thought of a retreat till they were attacked by the whole of the Grecian fleet. At this juncture Artemiſia, ſurrounded by enemies, and on the point of falling into the hands of an Athenian in cloſe purſuit of her, had recourſe to the expedient of ſinking a veſſel of the Perſian fleet. The Athenian, perſuaded by this manœuvre that the queen had deſerted the cauſe of the Perſians, deſiſted from the purſuit; and Xerxes ſuppoſing that the veſſel he ſaw ſink belonged to the Greeks, could not refrain from remarking, that on this day the men had behaved like women, and the women like men [b].

The Perſian fleet retired to the port of Phalerum [c]. Two hundred of their veſſels had been deſtroyed, and a great number taken: the Greeks loſt only forty gallies [d].

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[b] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 88.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 91 et 93.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 16.

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The battle was fought on the twentieth of Boedromion, in the firſt year of the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad *.

The names of the nations and individuals who diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt are ſtill preſerved. Among the former were the Æginetæ and the Athenians; among the latter, Polycritus of Ægina, and two Athenians, Eumenes and Aminias [e].

During the continuance of the battle, Xerxes was agitated by joy, apprehenſion, and deſpair. He alternately laviſhed promiſes, and dictated ſanguinary orders; making his ſecretaries enregiſter the names of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves in the action, and his ſlaves put to death the officers who approached him to juſtify their conduct [f]. At length, no longer ſupported by hope or rage, he ſunk into a ſtate of profound dejection; and, though he had forces ſufficient to ſubdue the world, he ſaw his fleet ready to revolt, and the Greeks preparing to burn

* The 20th of October, of the year 480 before Chriſt. Dodwell, in Thucyd. p. 49.

[e] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 93.

[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 16.

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the bridge of boats he had thrown over the Helleſpont. A ſpeedy flight might have delivered him from theſe idle terrors [g]; but ſome remains of a ſenſe of decency or pride not allowing him to manifeſt ſo much weakneſs in the ſight of his enemies and courtiers, he ordered preparations to be made for a new attack, and a cauſeway to be formed to join the iſland of Salamis to the continent.

He next ſent away a courier to Suſa, as he had diſpatched one after the taking of Athens. On the arrival of the firſt, the inhabitants of that vaſt city flocked to the temples, and burnt perfumes in the ſtreets ſtrewed over with myrtle branches; on the arrival of the ſecond, they rent their garments, and every place reſounded with cries, groans, exclamations of fear for the ſafety of the king, and imprecations againſt Mardonius, the firſt author of the war [h].

The Perſians and Greeks were in expectation of a new battle; but Mardonius was

[g] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 97.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 99.

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by no means ſatisfied with the orders given by Xerxes: he read in the ſoul of that prince nothing but the meaneſt ſentiments combined with projects of revenge, to which he poſſibly might fall a victim. "My lord," ſaid he, approaching him, "deign to recall your courage: your expectations were not founded on your fleet, but on that formidable army with which you have entruſted me. The Greeks are no more able to reſiſt you now than heretofore: nothing can ſhelter them from the puniſhment due to their ancient offences, and the fruitleſs advantage they have lately gained. If we determine on a retreat, we ſhall for ever be the objects of their deriſion; and the opprobrium that has fallen on the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, and other nations who fought on board your veſſels, will recoil on your faithful Perſians. Suffer me to propoſe another method to ſave their glory and your own: I would adviſe you to lead back the greater part of your troops to Perſia, and leave me three hundred thouſand men,

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with whom I ſhall be able to reduce all Greece [i].

Xerxes, who in his own mind was rejoiced at the propoſal, aſſembled his council, admitted to it Artemiſia, and requeſted her opinion on the project of Mardonius. The queen, diſguſted no doubt with ſerving ſuch a prince, and perſuaded that there are conjunctures in which to deliberate implies a previous reſolution, adviſed him to return as ſoon as poſſible to his dominions. I ſhall report part of her anſwer, to give an idea of the language of the court of Suſa: "Leave to Mardonius the care of completing your work. If he ſucceeds, yours will be all the glory; if he periſhes, or is defeated, your empire will not, on that account, be ſhaken, nor Perſia conſider the loſs of a battle as any great misfortune, when you ſhall have ſecured your perſon [k]."

Xerxes no longer made any delay. His fleet had orders to repair immediately to the

[i] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 100. Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 13.
[k] Herodot. ibid. cap. 102.

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Helleſpont, and watch over the preſervation of the bridge of boats[1]; that of the Greeks purſued it as far as the iſle of Andros. Themiſtocles and the Athenians wiſhed to come up with it, and then burn the bridge; but Eurybiades ſtrongly repreſenting, that far from ſhutting up the Perſians in Greece, it was their intereſt, if poſſible, to procure them new paſſages to facilitate their retreat, the army of the allies ſuſpended the purſuit, and ſoon after proceeded to the port of Pagaſa, where it paſſed the winter.

Themiſtocles now procured ſecret intelligence to be conveyed to Xerxes. Some allege that wiſhing, in caſe of his diſgrace, to ſecure himſelf an aſylum at the court of that prince, he made a merit of having diverted the Greeks from their intended project of burning the bridge[m]. According to others, he warned the king, that, unleſs he haſtened his departure, the Greeks would cut off his

[1] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 107.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 110.

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retreat to Aſia [n]. Be this as it may, ſome days after the battle the king took the road to Theſſaly, where Mardonius ſent into winter quarters the three hundred thouſand men he had demanded and choſen from the whole army [o]: thence purſuing his route, he arrived on the borders of the Helleſpont with a very inconſiderable number of troops [p]; the remainder, for want of proviſions, had periſhed by diſorders, or diſperſed themſelves over Macedonia and Thrace. To complete his misfortune, the bridge no longer remained, having been deſtroyed by a tempeſt. The king threw himſelf into a boat, paſſed the ſea as a fugitive *, about ſix months after he had croſſed it as a conqueror [q], and repaired to Phrygia to build ſumptuous palaces, which he ſtudiouſly took care to fortify [r].

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[n] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 120. Nep. in Themiſt. cap. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 16.

[o] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 113.

[p] Id. ibid. cap. 115.

* The 4th of December of the year 480 before Chriſt. Dodwell, p. 50.

[q] Id. ibid. cap. 51 et 115.

[r] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 1, p. 246.

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The firſt care of the victors, after the battle, was to tranſmit to Delphi the firſt fruits of the ſpoils they had divided: the generals next proceeded to the iſthmus of Corinth; and, agreeably to a cuſtom reſpectable from its antiquity, and ſtill more ſo from the emulation it inſpires, aſſembled near the altar of Neptune, to decree crowns to thoſe among them who had moſt contributed to the victory. The deciſion was not pronounced, each of the chiefs adjudging the firſt prize to himſelf, whilſt the greater part of them allowed the ſecond to be due to Themiſtocles.

Though, in conſequence, it was impoſſible to diſpute with him the firſt in the opinion of the public, he wiſhed to obtain an effective teſtimony in his favour from the Spartans; who received him at Lacedæmon with that high reſpect they themſelves merited, and made him a participator in the honours they decreed to Eurybiades. A crown of olive was the reward of both. At his departure he received new applauſes: a preſent was made him of the moſt beauti-

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ful chariot to be found in Lacedæmon; and to beſtow on him a diſtinction equally novel and illuſtrious, three hundred youths on horſeback, choſen from the firſt families of Sparta, were ordered to accompany him to the frontiers of Laconia [s].

In the mean time Mardonius was preparing to terminate a war ſo diſgraceful to Perſia: he added freſh troops to thoſe left him by Xerxes, without perceiving that to increaſe their number was to enfeeble them; he by turns ſolicited all the oracles of Greece [t]; he ſent defiances to the allied nations, and propoſed to them for the field of battle the plains of Bœotia, or thoſe of Theſſaly; in fine, reſolving to detach the Athenians from the league, he ſent to Athens Alexander king of Macedonia, who was connected with them by the ties of hoſpitality [u].

This prince, admitted to the aſſembly of the people at the ſame time with the ambaſ-

[s] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 124.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 133.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 136.

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ſadors of Lacedæmon commiſſioned to fruſtrate the negociation, ſpoke as follows: "Thus ſaith Mardonius: I have received an order from the king conceived in theſe words—I forget the offences of the Athenians. Mardonius, execute my will; reſtore to that people their lands; give them others, if they deſire it; preſerve to them their laws, and rebuild the temples I have burnt. I thought proper to inform you of the intentions of my maſter; and I add, it is a folly on your part to attempt to reſiſt the Perſians; and a ſtill greater folly to pretend to reſiſt them long. If we even ſuppoſe, contrary to all probability, that you ſhould gain the victory, another army would ſoon deprive you of the honour. Ruſh not therefore on deſtruction; but let a treaty of peace, concluded with mutual ſincerity, reſcue from danger your honour and your liberty." Alexander, after relating this meſſage, laboured to convince the Athenians that they were not in a condition to contend with the power of Per-

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ſia, and conjured them to prefer the friendſhip of Xerxes to every other intereſt [x].

"Liſten not to the perfidious counſels of Alexander, exclaimed the ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon. He is a tyrant who ſerves another tyrant: by an unworthy artifice he has falſified the inſtructions of Mardonius. The offers he makes you on his part are too ſeducing not to be ſuſpicious. You cannot accept them, without trampling under foot the laws of juſtice and of honour. Was it not you by whom this war was kindled? And ſhall thoſe Athenians who have at all times ſhewn themſelves the moſt zealous defenders of liberty, be the firſt authors of our ſlavery? Lacedæmon, who makes theſe repreſentations to you by our mouths, commiſerates the wretched ſtate to which your ruined houſes and your ravaged fields reduce you: ſhe propoſes to you, in her name, and in the name of her allies, to maintain, and preſerve for you in truſt, for

[x] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 140.

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the remainder of the war, your wives, your children, and your ſlaves [y]."

The Athenians propoſed the matter for deliberation, and, agreeable to the opinion of Ariſtides, it was reſolved to anſwer the king of Macedonia, that he might have diſpenſed with his intelligence that their forces were inferior to thoſe of the enemy, but that they were not on that account leſs diſpoſed to make the moſt vigorous reſiſtance to the barbarians; and counſelled him, when he had ſuch baſe propoſitions to offer to them in future, not to appear in their preſence, nor expoſe them to violate, in his perſon, the rights of hoſpitality and friendſhip [z].

It was alſo determined that they ſhould anſwer to the Lacedæmonians, that if Sparta had known the Athenians better, ſhe would not have ſuppoſed them capable of ſuch treachery, nor have endeavoured to retain them in her alliance by intereſted motives; that they would provide, as well as they

y Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 142.
z Id. ibid. cap. 143. Lycurg. Orat. in Leocr. p. 156.

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could, for the neceſſities of their families, and thanked the allies for their generous offers; that they were attached to the league by ſacred and indiſſoluble ties, and that the only favour they demanded of the allies was to ſend them ſpeedy ſuccours, as it was time to march into Bœotia, and prevent the enemy from penetrating a ſecond time into Attica[a].

The ambaſſadors being again admitted, Ariſtides cauſed the decrees to be read in their preſence; then ſuddenly raiſing his voice, "Ambaſſadors of Lacedæmon," ſaid he, "inform the Spartans, that all the gold that circulates on the earth, or that ſtill lies hidden within its bowels, is nothing in our eyes to the value of our liberty. And you, Alexander, addreſſing himſelf to that prince, and pointing to the ſun, ſay to Mardonius, that as long as yon luminary ſhall revolve in the path marked out for him in the heavens, the Athenians will purſue the king of Perſia, till they ſhall have ſatisfied the vengeance due to their deſolated fields, and their

[a] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 144.

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temples reduced to aſhes[b]." To give ſtill greater ſolemnity to this engagement, he inſtantly procured a decree to be paſſed, by which the prieſts ſhould devote to the infernal deities all thoſe who maintained a correſpondence with the Perſians, or detached themſelves from the confederation of the Greeks.

Mardonius, informed of the reſolution of the Athenians, inſtantly marched his troops into Bœotia, and thence poured them into Attica, the inhabitants of which a ſecond time took refuge in the iſle of Salamis[c]. He was ſo flattered with gaining poſſeſſion of a deſerted country, that by ſignals placed from diſtance to diſtance, either on the iſles or continent, he gave notice of it to Xerxes, who was ſtill at Sardes in Lydia[d]: he attempted likewiſe to avail himſelf of this ſucceſs, to open a new negociation with the Athenians; but he received the ſame anſwer as

[b] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 143. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 324.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 23.
[d] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 3.

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before; and Lycidas, one of the ſenators, who had propoſed to liſten to the offers of the Perſian general, was ſtoned to death with his wife and children [e].

In the mean time the allies, inſtead of ſending an army, as had been agreed on, into Attica, fortified themſelves on the iſthmus of Corinth, and appeared attentive only to the defence of the Peloponneſus [f]. The Athenians, alarmed at this project, ſent ambaſſadors to Lacedæmon, where feſtivals were celebrating which were to laſt for ſome days: they made known their complaints, but the anſwer was deferred from day to day. Offended at length with an inaction and a ſilence which too juſtly entitled them to ſuſpect ſome perfidy, they preſented themſelves, for the laſt time, to the ephori, and declared that Athens, betrayed by the Lacedæmonians, and abandoned by the other allies, was reſolved to turn her arms againſt them, by making her peace with the Perſians.

[e] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 5.
[f] Id. ibid, cap. 6.

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The ephori replied, that the preceding night they had ſent off, under the conduct of Pauſanias, guardian of the young king Pliſtarchus, five thouſand Spartans, and thirty-five thouſand ſlaves, or Helots, lightly armed [g]. Theſe troops, which were preſently increaſed by five thouſand Lacedæmonians, forming a junction with the confederated cities, marched from Eleuſis, and proceeded into Bœotia, whither Mardonius had brought back his army [h].

He had prudently avoided coming to an engagement in Attica. As that country is interſected by heights and defiles, he would neither have had it in his power to extend his cavalry in the battle, nor to ſecure a retreat in caſe of a defeat. Bœotia, on the contrary, afforded ſpacious plains, a fertile country, and a number of cities ready to receive the remains of his army; for, excepting the inhabitants of Platæa and Theſpiæ, all the ſtates of that part of Greece had declared in favour of the Perſians.

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[g] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 11.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 19.

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Mardonius pitched his camp in the plain of Thebes, along the river Aſopus, the left bank of which he occupied as far as the frontiers of the country of the Platæans *. To encloſe his baggage, and ſecure to himſelf a place of retreat, he cauſed a ſpace of ten ſtadia ſquare †, to be ſurrounded with a deep ditch, and likewiſe with walls and wooden towers [1]. The Greeks were in his front, at the foot and on the declivity of Mount Cithæron. Ariſtides commanded the Athenians, and Pauſanias the whole army ‡.

Here the generals drew up the following form of an oath, which was taken with eagerneſs by the ſoldiers: "I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my leaders, neither during their lives, nor after their death; I will beſtow the honours of ſepulture on ſuch of the allies as ſhall

* See the plan of the battle of Platæa.

† Above a mile. See table IX. vol. vii.

[1] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 15. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 325.

‡ The two armies came in ſight of each other, the 10th of September of the year 479 before Chriſt. Dodwell, in Annal. Thucyd. p. 52.

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fall in the battle: after the victory, I will deſtroy none of thoſe cities which ſhall have fought for Greece, and I will decimate all thoſe which ſhall have joined the enemy. I will not attempt to rebuild the temples they have burnt or demoliſhed, but ſuffer their ruins to remain, perpetually to remind our poſterity of the impious fury of the barbarians [k]."

An anecdote reported by an author almoſt contemporary with theſe events may enable us to judge of the idea the greater part of the Perſians entertained of their general. Mardonius ſupped with an inhabitant of Thebes, with fifty of his general officers, as many Thebans, and Therſander, one of the principal citizens of Orchomenus. Towards the end of the entertainment, mutual confidence having taken place between the gueſts of both nations, a Perſian ſeated near Therſander ſaid to him: "This table, the pledge of our faithful friendſhip, theſe libations we have made together in honour of the gods, inſpire me with a ſecret friendſhip

[k] Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 158. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 23.

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for you. It is time to look to your ſafety: you ſee theſe Perſians who are abandoning themſelves to tranſports of joy; you have ſeen that army we have left on the banks of the river; alas! you will ſoon behold only its ſhattered remains." As he ſpake theſe words he ſhed tears. Therſander ſurpriſed, aſked him if he had communicated his apprehenſions to Mardonius, or thoſe whom he honoured with his confidence. "My dear hoſt," replied the ſtranger, "man cannot avoid his deſtiny. Numbers of Perſians, like me, have foreſeen that which is hanging over them, and we all ſuffer ourſelves to be hurried on by fatality. The greateſt misfortune of mankind is, that the wiſeſt amongſt them are always thoſe who have the leaſt influence[1]." The author I have quoted received this anecdote from Therſander himſelf.

Mardonius, perceiving that the Greeks perſiſted in maintaining the heights, ſent againſt them his whole cavalry, commanded

[1] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 16.

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by Maſiſtius, who ſtood in the higheſt degree of favour with Xerxes, and was held in univerſal eſtimation by the army. The Perſians, after inſulting the Greeks with reproaches of cowardice, fell on the Megareans encamped on a more level ſpot of ground, who, with the aſſiſtance of three hundred Athenians, made a conſiderably long reſiſtance. The death of Maſiſtius ſaved them from a total defeat, and terminated the action. This loſs was a ſubject of mourning for the Perſian army, and of triumph for the Greeks, who ſaw the body of Maſiſtius, which they had carried off from the enemy, paſs along all their ranks [m].

Notwithſtanding this advantage, the difficulty of procuring water, in preſence of an enemy who kept at a-diſtance by their darts all who attempted to approach the river, obliged them to change their poſition: they filed off along Mount Cithæron, and entered the country of the Platæans.

[m] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 22, &c. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 24. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 327.

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The Lacedæmonians poſted themſelves near a copious ſpring, named Gargaphia, which ſufficed for the wants of the whole army: the other allies in general were ſtationed on the eminences at the foot of the mountain; ſome of them in the plain, and all in front of the Aſopus.

During this diſtribution of poſts, a ſharp diſpute aroſe between the Athenians and Tegeatæ, who claimed equally the command of the left wing: both recounted their titles and the exploits of their anceſtors. But Ariſtides terminated the difference. "We come not here," ſaid he, "to conteſt with our allies, but to combat our enemies; we declare that it is not the poſt that confers or takes away valour. To you, O Lacedæmonians! we refer. Whatever rank you ſhall aſſign us, we will raiſe it to ſuch a height that it will become perhaps the moſt honourable of all." The Lacedæmonians decided with acclamations in favour of the Athenians [n].

A more imminent danger cauſed the pru-

[n] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 26. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 326.

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dence of Ariſtides a ſtill ſeverer trial: he learnt that ſome officers of his troops, belonging to the firſt families of Athens, were meditating an act of treachery in favour of the Perſians, and that the conſpiracy was daily gaining ground. Far from rendering it more formidable by enquiries which might have apprized the conſpirators of their ſtrength, he contented himſelf with arreſting eight of the accomplices. The two moſt guilty fled. To the others he ſaid, ſhewing them the enemy: "The blood of the Perſians alone can expiate your offence [o]."

Mardonius no ſooner learnt that the Greeks had retired into the territory of Platæa, than, marching his army up the river, he ſtationed it a ſecond time within ſight of the enemy. It conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men drawn from the Aſiatic nations, and about fifty thouſand Bœotians, Theſſalians, and other Grecian auxiliaries [p]. That of the confederates was about a hun-

[o] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 326.
[p] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 32.

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dred and ten thouſand ſtrong, ſixty-nine thouſand five hundred of whom were only lightly armed [q]. This army conſiſted of ten thouſand Spartans and Lacedæmonians, eight thouſand Athenians, five thouſand Corinthians, three thouſand Megareans, and various little detachments furniſhed by ſeveral other ſtates or cities of Greece [r]. New levies were every day arriving. The Mantineans and the Eleans did not reach the camp till after the battle.

The armies had been within ſight of each other eight days, when a detachment of Perſian cavalry, paſſing the Aſopus in the night, intercepted a convoy from Peloponneſus which was deſcending from Mount Cithæron. The Perſians made themſelves maſters of this paſs *, and the Greeks were cut off from their proviſions [s].

The two following days their camp was inſulted by the cavalry of the enemy. Nei-

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[q] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 30.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 28.
* The 17th of September of the year 479 before Chriſt. Dodwell. in Ann. Thucyd. p. 52.
[s] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 39.

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ther of the armies dared to paſs the river. The augur, on both ſides, whether of his own accord, or acted upon by foreign impreſſions, promiſed the victory reſpectively to his party, provided they kept on the defenſive [t].

On the eleventh day Mardonius aſſembled his council *. Artabazus, one of the firſt officers of the army, propoſed to retire under the walls of Thebes, and not to riſk a battle, but to corrupt, by dint of money, the chief inhabitants of the allied cities. This meaſure, which was much approved by the Thebans, would inſenſibly have detached from the confederation the greater part of the ſtates of which it was compoſed; beſides that the Grecian army, which was already in want of proviſions, would have been compelled in a few days to diſperſe, or give battle in the plain, which it had hitherto induſtriouſly avoided. Mardonius however rejected this propoſition with diſdain.

[t] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 36 et 37.
* The 20th of September. Id. ibid.

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The following night * a horſeman, eſcaping from the Perſian camp, and advancing towards the quarter of the Athenians, deſired them to inform their general that he had an important ſecret to communicate; and when Ariſtides arrived, this ſtranger thus addreſſed him: "Mardonius in vain wearies the gods to procure favourable auſpices; their ſilence has hitherto retarded the battle. But the efforts of the augurs can no longer detain him. He will attack you to-morrow at break of day. I hope after your victory you will remember that I have riſked my life to ſecure you from a ſurpriſe: I am Alexander, king of Macedonia." Having thus ſpoken, he returned full ſpeed to the camp [u].

Ariſtides immediately repaired to the quarter of the Lacedæmonians. The moſt prudent plans were there concerted to repulſe the enemy: and Pauſanias adviſed a meaſure that Ariſtides himſelf had not dared to propoſe; which was to ſtation the

* The night between the 20th and the 21ſt of September.
[u] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 327.

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Athenians oppoſite to the Perſians, and the Lacedæmonians to the Grecian auxiliaries. By this means, ſaid he, we ſhall both of us have to combat troops who have already experienced our valour. This reſolution taken, the Athenians, at the break of day, paſſed to the right wing, and the Lacedæmonians to the left. Mardonius penetrating their deſigns, inſtantly cauſed the Perſians to file off to his right, and did not recall them to their former poſt till he ſaw the enemy return to their firſt order of battle [x].

This general conſidered the motions of the Lacedæmonians only as ſigns of fear. In the intoxication of his pride he tauntingly reminded them of their ancient glory, and ſent them inſulting defiances. A herald diſpatched by him to Pauſanias carried a propoſal to terminate the differences of Perſia and Greece, by a combat between a certain number of Spartans and Perſians. Receiving no anſwer, he put all his cavalry in motion, which haraſſed the army of the

[x] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 46. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 328.

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Greeks during the remainder of the day, and even found means to dam up the fountain of Gargaphia [y].

Deprived of this their only reſource, the Greeks determined to remove their camp a little farther, and retire to an iſland formed by two branches of the Aſopus, one of which is named Peroe [z]; from whence they propoſed to detach half their troops to the paſs of Mount Cithæron, to diſlodge the Perſians who intercepted their convoys.

The camp broke up during the night *, with all the confuſion to be expected from the troops of ſo many independent ſtates, cooled by inaction, and alarmed by their frequent retreats, as well as the ſcarcity of proviſions: ſome repaired to the poſt aſſigned them; others, led aſtray by their guides, or by a panic terror, took refuge near the city of Platæa [a].

The departure of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians was delayed till dawn. The latter took the road of the plain; while the

[y] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 49. Pauſan. lib. 9, cap. 4, p. 718.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 51. Pauſan. ibid.
* The night between the 21ſt and 22d of September.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 52.

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Lacedæmonians, followed by three thouſand Tegeatæ, filed along the foot of mount Cithæron. Having arrived at the temple of Ceres, ten ſtadia from their former poſition, and at the ſame diſtance from the city of Platæa [b], they halted for one of their body who had long refuſed to abandon his poſt. Here they were overtaken by the Perſian cavalry, detached by Mardonius to impede their march. "Behold them," exclaimed this general to his officers; "behold thoſe intrepid Lacedæmonians, who, we were told, never retreat in preſence of an enemy: that vile people, diſtinguiſhed from the other Greeks, only by exceſs of cowardice, and who will ſoon ſuffer the puniſhment they juſtly merit [c]."

Immediately putting himſelf at the head of the warlike nation of the Perſians, and of his beſt ſoldiers, he paſſed the river and advanced rapidly into the plain. The troops of the other eaſtern nations tumultuouſly followed him, uttering loud ſhouts; and at the ſame inſtant his right wing, com-

[b] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 57.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 58.

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poſed of the auxiliary Greeks, attacked the Athenians, and prevented them from affording any aſſiſtance to the Lacedæmonians.

Pauſanias having drawn up his men on a ſloping and uneven ſpot of ground near a ſmall rivulet and the encloſure conſecrated to Ceres [d], left them long expoſed to the darts and arrows of the enemy, againſt which they did not venture to defend themſelves. The entrails of the victims were declared to portend only ſiniſter events. This wretched ſuperſtition occaſioned the loſs of a great number of ſoldiers, who leſs regretted the loſs of life than that their death ſhould be of ſo little utility to their country. At length the Tegeatæ, no longer able to reſiſt the ardour which animated them, began to move, and were ſoon ſupported by the Spartans who had juſt obtained, or contrived to procure, ſome favourable omens [e].

At their approach the Perſians threw

[d] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 57 et 65. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 325. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11, p. 24.

[e] Herodot. ibid. cap. 62.

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away their bows, and closing their ranks, covered themselves with their bucklers, forming a compact body, which by its weight and impulse checked and repelled the fury of the enemy. In vain are their fragile bucklers shivered in pieces; they break the lances that pierce them, and supply the deficiency of their weapons by a ferocious courage [f]. Mardonius, at the head of a thousand chosen soldiers, long held the victory in suspense; but presently he falls, with a mortal wound. The troops attached to his person attempt to avenge his death, and are sacrificed around his body. From this moment the Persian host was shaken, thrown into confusion, and compelled to fly. Their cavalry for some time stopped the progress of the victor, but did not prevent him from reaching the foot of the intrenchment thrown up by the Persians near the Asopus, and in which the remains of their shattered army took refuge [g].

Similar success had attended the Athe-

[f] Plut. in Arist. p. 329.
[g] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 70.

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nians on the left wing: they had experienced a very obſtinate reſiſtance from the Bœotians, but only feeble efforts on the part of the other allies of Xerxes, offended, no doubt, at the haughty conduct of Mardonius, and his obſtinacy in perſiſting to give battle on ground ſo diſadvantageous. In their flight the Bœotians hurried away with them the whole of the Perſian right wing [h].

Ariſtides, far from purſuing them, immediately proceeded to join the Lacedæmonians, who, little verſed in the art of conducting ſieges, were employed in fruitleſs attacks on the fortification by which the Perſians were defended. The arrival of the Athenians and the reſt of the confederated troops did not terrify the beſieged, who furiouſly repulſed the aſſailants; but the Athenians at length forcing the intrenchment, and deſtroying a part of the wall, the Greeks ruſhed into the camp, and the Perſians ſuffered themſelves to be ſlaughtered like victims [i].

[h] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 67.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 70. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 25.

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Artabazus, who had under his command a body of forty thouſand men, but who had long been ſecretly offended at the choice Xerxes had made of Mardonius to command the army, had from the beginning of the battle advanced rather to be a ſpectator than with any view of contributing to its ſucceſs. He accordingly no ſooner ſaw the army of Mardonius give ground, than he ordered his troops to follow him; and taking to flight, took the road of Phocis, croſſed the ſea at Byzantium [k], and repaired to Aſia, where his having ſaved a part of the army was perhaps imputed to him as a merit. All the remainder, except about three thouſand men, periſhed, either in the intrenchment or the battle.

The nations thát moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this memorable day were, on the one ſide, the Perſians and the Sacæ; and on the other, the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Tegea. Great encomiums were beſtowed by the victors on the valour of Mardonius, the

[k] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 66 et 89.

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Athenian Sophanes, and four Spartans, at the head of whom we muſt place Ariſtodemus, who had reſolved on this occaſion to free himſelf from the diſgrace of not having ſacrificed his life at Thermopylæ. But the Lacedæmonians beſtowed no honours on his aſhes: they ſaid, that reſolved to die rather than to conquer, he had quitted his rank during the battle, and ſeemed rather actuated by the courage derived from deſpair than real valour [1].

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians and Athenians equally diſputed the palm of bravery; the former, becauſe they had beaten the beſt troops of Mardonius; the latter, becauſe they had forced them in their intrenchments: both aſſerted their pretenſions with a degree of haughtineſs from which it was impoſſible to recede. Their minds became irritated; the two camps reſounded with menaces, and they would have proceeded to blows, but for the prudence of Ariſtides, who prevailed on the Athenians to refer the queſtion to the deci-

[1] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 71.

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ſion of the allies. Theogiton of Megara now propoſed to the rival ſtates to renounce the prize, and adjudge it to ſome other people. Cleocritus of Corinth named the Platæans, and all the ſuffrages were united in their favour [m].

The earth was covered with the rich ſpoils of the Perſians; and gold and ſilver filled their tents. Pauſanias delivered the plunder into the cuſtody of the Helots [n]: the tenth part was reſerved for the temple of Delphi, and a conſiderable portion for monuments in honour of the gods. The victors ſhared the remainder, and brought into their country the firſt ſeeds of corruption [o].

All kinds of honours were conferred on thoſe who had died in arms. Each nation prepared a tomb for its warriors [p], and Ariſtides procured a decree to be paſſed in an aſſembly of the generals: That the people of Greece ſhould every year ſend depu-

[m] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 331.
[n] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 80.
[o] Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 14.
[p] Herodot. ibid. cap. 85. Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 58.

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ties to Platæa, there to perpetuate, by ſolemn ſacrifices the memory of thoſe who had loſt their lives in the battle; that every five years ſplendid games ſhould be there celebrated, and called the Feſtivals of Liberty; and that the Platæans, henceforward exempt from all cares but thoſe of offering up vows for the preſervation of Greece, ſhould be conſidered as an inviolate ſtate, conſecrated to the Gods [q].

Eleven days after the battle *, the victors marched to Thebes, and demanded that the inhabitants ſhould deliver up ſuch of the citizens as had induced them to a ſubmiſſion to the Medes. On the refuſal of the Thebans, the city was beſieged, and in danger of being deſtroyed, had not one of the principal offenders conſented to ſurrender himſelf and the reſt of his faction into the hands of the allies. They flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to redeem their lives by the ſacrifice of the great ſums of money they had received from Mardo-

[q] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 331.
* The 3d of October.

nius;

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nius; but Pauſanias, deaf to their offers, ſentenced them all to death [r].

The battle of Platæa was fought on the third of the month Boedromion [s], in the ſecond year of the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad *. On the ſame day the Grecian fleet, commanded by Leutychides king of Lacedæmon, and Xanthippus the Athenian, gained a ſignal victory over the Perſians [t], near the promontory of Mycale in Ionia, and the ſtates of that diſtrict who had called them to their aſſiſtance entered, after the engagement, into the general league [u].

Such was the concluſion of the war of Xerxes, better known by the name of the Median war: it had continued two years [x]; and never perhaps did ſuch memorable tranſactions occur in ſo ſhort an interval, nor ever

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[r] Herodot. lib 9, cap. 88. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 26.

[s] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349. Id. in Camill. t. i. p. 138. In the life of Ariſtides, p. 330, he ſays it was on the 4th.

* The 22d of September of the year 479 before Chriſt. Dodwell in Annal. Thucyd. p. 52.

[t] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 90.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 106.

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 29.

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did ſimilar events operate ſuch rapid revolutions, in the ideas, intereſts, and governments of nations. Their effects were different on the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, according to the diverſity of their character and inſtitutions. The former ſought for repoſe after their ſucceſſes, and ſuffered only a few marks of jealouſy to eſcape them againſt the Athenians. The latter ſuddenly abandoned themſelves to the moſt immoderate ambition, and propoſed at once to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the pre-eminence they had hitherto held in Greece, and to protect the Ionians, who had juſt recovered their liberty, againſt the Perſians.

The different ſtates of Greece at length recovered breath: the Athenians re-eſtabliſhed themſelves amidſt the ruins of their unfortunate city, and rebuilt its walls, notwithſtanding the complaints of the allies, who began to dread the increaſing glory of that people; and in deſpite of the repreſentations of the Lacedæmonians, who gave it as their opinion that it would be proper to

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diſmantle all the fortified towns of Greece ſituated without Peloponneſus, that on any new invaſion they might not ſerve as a retreat for the Perſians [y]. Themiſtocles found means to divert the ſtorm then impending over the Athenians. He ſtill further induced them to make a harbour at the Piræus defended by a ſtrong wall [z], to build yearly a certain number of galleys, and offer privileges and immunities to ſtrangers, and eſpecially to mechanics, who ſhould come to ſettle in their city [a].

At the ſame time the allies prepared to reſtore to their freedom the Grecian cities in which the Perſians had left garriſons. A numerous fleet, under the command of Pauſanias and Ariſtides, obliged the enemy to abandon the iſle of Cyprus and the city of Byzantium, ſituated on the Helleſpont [b]. Theſe ſucceſſes completed the ruin of Pauſanias, who from this time was incapable of

y Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 90. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 121. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 31.
z Plut. in Themiſt. ibid. Nep. in Themiſt. cap. 6.
a Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 33.
b Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 94. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 34.

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ſupporting his glory and good fortune with moderation.

He was no longer that rigid Spartan who, in the fields of Platæa, derided the pomp and ſlavery of the Medes [c]; he was become a ſatrap, totally ſubdued by the manners of the vanquiſhed people, and perpetually ſurrounded by foreign guards, who rendered him inacceſſible [d]. The allies, who could only obtain from him harſh and humiliating anſwers, or imperious and ſanguinary orders, revolted at length againſt a tyranny become ſtill more odious from the conduct of Ariſtides, who, to conciliate the minds of men, employed the moſt powerful of all inſtruments, mildneſs and juſtice. The confederate nations therefore propoſed to the Athenians to fight under their orders [e].

The Lacedæmonians, informed of this defection, immediately recalled Pauſanias, who was at once accuſed of oppreſſion towards the allies, and ſuſpected of a corre-

[c] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 82.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 130. Nep. in Pauſan. cap. 3.
[e] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 34. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 333. Nep. in Ariſtid. cap. 2.

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ſpondence with the Perſians. Sufficient proofs were adduced of his tyranny and oppreſſion, and he was deprived of the command [f]. His treaſon ſoon after became equally manifeſt, and he was put to death [g]. This puniſhment, however exemplary, did not produce its effect on the allies: they refuſed to obey the Spartan Dorcis, who ſucceeded to Pauſanias [h]; and this general reſigning his command, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the meaſures proper to be adopted.

Their claim to command the combined army of the Greeks was founded on the moſt reſpectable titles. It had hitherto been admitted by all the nations of Greece, not excepting the Athenians [i]. Sparta had exerciſed this right, not to extend her dominions, but every where to deſtroy tyranny [k]. The wiſdom of her laws often rendered her the arbiter of the Grecian ſtates; and the

[f] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 131.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 134. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 35.
[h] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 95.
[i] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 2 et 3. Nep. in Ariſt. cap. 2.
[k] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 18. Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 58.

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equity of her deciſions had induced many of them to increaſe the number of her allies. What a moment too was choſen to deſpoil her of her prerogative! The very moment when, under the conduct of her generals, the Greeks had gained the moſt brilliant of victories.

Reflections like theſe filled the Spartans with rage and indignation. They threatened the allies, and were meditating the invaſion of Attica, when a ſenator named Hetæmaridas ventured to repreſent to the warriors who ſurrounded him, that their generals, after the moſt glorious ſucceſſes, brought nothing back to their country but the ſeeds of corruption; that the example of Pauſanias ſhould make them tremble at the thought of chooſing him a ſucceſſor; and that it was advantageous to the republic to yield to the Athenians the empire of the ſea, and the care of continuing the war againſt the Perſians [1].

This diſcourſe ſurpriſed, and quickly calmed the minds of the aſſembly. The

[1] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 75 et 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 38.

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braveſt nation in the world was ſeen to prefer her virtues to her vengeance, and lay aſide her jealouſy at the voice of reaſon. The genius of Lycurgus ſtill reigned in Sparta; and never perhaps did ſhe diſplay more real courage and true greatneſs.

The Athenians, who, far from expecting ſuch a ſacrifice, were prepared to aſſert their claim by force of arms, admired a moderation they were incapable of imitating; and, whilſt a rival nation was thus diveſting itſelf of a portion of its power, their anxiety was but the greater to procure the honourable privilege of commanding the naval armies of Greece to be confirmed to them by the allies [m].

This new ſyſtem of confederation was to be juſtified by new enterpriſes, and gave birth to new projects. The firſt ſtep was to regulate the neceſſary contributions for continuing the war againſt the Perſians. All the ſtates committed their intereſts to the integrity of Ariſtides, who viſited all parts of the continent and the iſlands, in-

[m] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 333.

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formed himſelf of the produce of the lands, and gave ſuch proofs of intelligence and equity in his whole conduct of this buſineſs, that even thoſe on whom the taxes were levied conſidered him as their benefactor [n]. As ſoon as this taxation was finiſhed, it was reſolved to attack the Perſians.

The Lacedæmonians took no part in this deliberation; they now were only intent on peace, while the Athenians breathed nothing but war. This contrariety of views had more than once been diſplayed. After the battle of Mycale, the people of Peloponneſus, headed by the Lacedæmonians, wiſhed to remove the Ionians to the continent of Greece, and beſtow on them the maritime places poſſeſſed by the nations which had entered into alliance with the Perſians. By this tranſmigration, the Greeks would have been freed from the burthen of protecting the Ionians, and the inevitable rupture between Aſia and Europe been, at leaſt for ſome time, retarded. But the Athe-

[n] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 333.

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nians rejected this propoſal, pretending that the fate of their colonies ought not to depend on the allies [o]. It was neceſſary at leaſt to affix a ſort of ſtigma on the different ſtates of Greece who had joined their forces to thoſe of Xerxes, or remained inactive. The Lacedæmonians propoſed to exclude them from the aſſembly of the Amphictyons: but Themiſtocles, wiſhing to procure for his country the alliance of the Argives, Thebans, and Theſſalians, repreſented that, by excluding theſe ſtates from that aſſembly, two or three powerful cities would diſpoſe of all the ſuffrages at their pleaſure. He thus defeated the propoſition of the Lacedæmonians, and drew on himſelf their hatred [p].

He had merited that of the allies by his exactions, and the acts of violence he had exercifed in the iſles of the Ægean ſea. A multitude of individuals complained of his injuſtice, others of the riches he had amaſſed, and all of his inordinate thirſt for

[o] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 106.
[p] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.

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power. Envy, which carefully collected his moſt trifling words and actions, enjoyed the cruel pleaſure of caſting a cloud over his glory. He himſelf ſaw it diminiſh from day to day, and to maintain its ſplendour even deſcended to weary the people with the recital of his exploits, not perceiving that it is as dangerous as fruitleſs to recall to mind forgotten ſervices. He built near his houſe a temple dedicated to DIANA, THE INSPIRER OF GOOD COUNSELS. This inſcription, the memorial of thoſe he had given the Athenians during the Median war, had the appearance of a reproach, and conſequently of an inſult offered to the nation. His enemies prevailed: he was baniſhed *, and retired to Peloponneſus; but ſoon after, having been accuſed of carrying on a criminal correſpondence with Artaxerxes, the ſucceſſor of Xerxes, he was driven from city to city [q], and conſtrained to take refuge with the Perſians, who honoured in

* Towards the year 471 before Chriſt.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 135. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11, p. 42. Plut. in Them. p. 122 et 123.

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their ſuppliant vanquiſher thoſe talents which had humbled them, but were now no longer formidable. He died ſeveral years after *.

The Athenians were ſcarcely ſenſible of this loſs, ſince they poſſeſſed Ariſtides, and Cimon ſon of Miltiades. The latter united to the valour of his father the prudence of Themiſtocles, and almoſt all the virtues of Ariſtides, whoſe example he had ſtudied, and to whoſe leſſons he had ever been attentive [r]. To him was entruſted the command of the Grecian fleet: he ſet ſail for Thrace, made himſelf maſter of a city where the Perſians had a garriſon, deſtroyed the pirates who infeſted the neighbouring ſeas, and ſpread terror through thoſe iſlands which had detached themſelves from the league [s].

He ſoon after ſailed from the Piræus with two hundred galleys, which were joined by a hundred others furniſhed by the

* Towards the year 449 before Chriſt.
[r] Plut. in Cim. p. 481.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 483. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 98.

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allies. By his preſence, or his arms, he obliged the cities of Caria and Lycia to declare againſt the Perſians; and, falling in with the fleet of the latter, conſiſting of two hundred veſſels [t], off the iſle of Cyprus, he ſunk part of them, and took the remainder: on the ſame evening, arriving on the coaſts of Pamphylia, where the Perſians had collected a numerous army, he diſembarked his troops, attacked and diſperſed the enemy, and returned with a great number of priſoners, and a large quantity of rich ſpoils, which he ſet apart for the embelliſhment of Athens [u].

This double victory was ſoon followed by the conqueſt of the Thracian peninſula [x]; and other advantages, gained in the courſe of ſeveral years, ſucceſſively increaſed the glory of the Athenians, and their confidence in their troops.

The ſtrength of their allies diminiſhed in the ſame proportion. Exhauſted by a war

[t] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 100.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 47.
[x] Plut. in Cim. p. 487.

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which daily became more foreign to their intereſts, the greater part refuſed to furniſh their contingent of ſhips and ſoldiers. The Athenians at firſt employed menaces and violence to compel them; but Cimon, actuated by profounder views, propoſed to them to keep at home their troops and their ſailors, to increaſe their pecuniary contributions, and ſend their galleys, which ſhould be navigated by Athenians [y]. By this artful policy he deprived them of their navy; and, plunging them into a fatal ſtate of repoſe, gave ſuch a ſuperiority to his country, that ſhe ceaſed to pay the leaſt attention to the allies. Ariſtides and Cimon indeed retained ſome of them by continued marks of reſpect; but Athens, by her haughtineſs, compelled the others to ſeparate from her alliance, and puniſhed them for their defection by reducing them to ſlavery.

In this manner ſhe took poſſeſſion of the iſles of Scyros and of Naxos [z]; and obliged the inhabitants of the iſland of Thaſos, after a

[y] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 99. Plut. in Cim. p. 485.
[z] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 98. Plut. in Cim. p. 483.

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long ſiege, to raſe the walls of their capital, and reſign to the victors their ſhips, their gold mines, and the territory they poſſeſſed on the continent [a].

Theſe proceedings were manifeſt infractions of the treaty which Ariſtides had entered into with the allies, and of which the obſervance was guarded by the moſt tremendous oaths. But Ariſtides exhorted the Athenians to avert on his head the puniſhment due to their perjuries [b]. It ſeemed as if virtue itſelf began to be corrupted by ambition.

Athens was now in a ſtate of continual war; and the object of this war was twofold; the one, of which they made no ſecret, was to maintain the liberty of the cities of Ionia; the other, which they were fearful of avowing, to wreſt that ſame liberty from all the ſtates of Greece.

The Lacedæmonians, at length rouſed by the complaints of the allies, had reſolved, during the ſiege of Thaſos, to make a di-

[a] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 101. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 53. Plut. in Cim. p. 487.
[b] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 334.

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verſion in Attica[c]: but at the moment this project was to be carried into execution, Sparta was deſtroyed by dreadful earthquakes, and a conſiderable number of its inhabitants periſhed beneath the ruins. The ſlaves revolted, ſeveral of the cities of Laconia followed their example, and the Lacedæmonians were compelled to implore the aſſiſtance of that people * whoſe ambitious progreſs they had wiſhed to ſtop. One of the orators of Athens counſelled his countrymen to ſuffer the only power they had to fear in Greece to ſink beneath its calamities; but Cimon, convinced that the rivalry of Sparta was more advantageous to the Athenians even than their conqueſts, found means to inſpire them with more generous ſentiments[d]. On various occaſions they joined their troops with thoſe of Lacedæmon; and this important ſervice, which ſhould have united the two nations, ſowed the ſeeds of a hatred between them that

[c] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 101.
* Towards the year 464 before Chriſt.
[d] Plut. in Cim. p. 489.

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gave birth to the moſt fatal wars [e]. The Lacedæmonians, imagining they perceived a ſecret correſpondence between the revolters and the Athenian generals, entreated them, under plauſible pretences, to withdraw their forces; but the Athenians, irritated at ſuch a ſuſpicion, broke the treaty by which they had been allied to the Lacedæmonians from the commencement of the Median war, and loſt no time in concluding another with the people of Argos, who had long been the enemies of Sparta [f].

During theſe tranſactions, Inarus, ſon of Pſammetichus, having excited an inſurrection in Egypt againſt Artaxerxes, king of Perſia [g], ſolicited the protection of the Athenians *. The deſire of enfeebling the Perſians, and of procuring the alliance of the Egyptians, determined the republic ſtill more than the offers of Inarus. Cimon ſailed to Egypt with the allied fleet, conſiſting of two hun-

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 49.
[f] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 102. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 48. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 24, p. 339.
[g] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 104. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 54.
* Towards the year 462 before Chriſt.

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dred veſſels [h]. He aſcended the Nile, and joined that of the Egyptians, who defeated the Perſians, and made themſelves maſters of Memphis, except one quarter of the city, in which the ſhattered remains of the Perſian army had taken refuge. The revolt of the Egyptians was not ſuppreſſed till ſix years after: the valour of the Athenians and other Greeks alone prolonged its duration. After the loſs of a battle, they defended themſelves ſixteen months in an iſland formed by two branches of the Nile, and moſt of them periſhed ſword in hand. It muſt be obſerved, that Artaxerxes, to oblige the Grecian troops to quit Egypt, had in vain attempted, by offers of rich preſents, to induce the Lacedæmonians to make an irruption into Attica [i].

Whilſt the Athenians were combating at a diſtance to give a king to Egypt, they attacked in Europe the inhabitants of Corinth and Epidaurus; they triumphed over the Bœotians and Sicyonians; they diſperſed

[h] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 110. Plut. in Cim. p. 490.
[i] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 109. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 56.

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the fleet of Peloponneſus, and forced the people of Ægina to give up their ſhips, pay a tribute, and demoliſh their walls [k]; they ſent troops into Theſſaly, to reſtore Oreſtes to the throne of his anceſtors [l]; they kept all the nations of Greece in motion by ſecret intrigues, or adventurous enterpriſes; furniſhing ſuccours to ſome, and forcing others to ſupply them; uniting to their territory the countries that lay convenient; forming ſettlements wherever they were invited by commerce; continually in arms, and continually hurried on to new expeditions by a rapid ſucceſſion of victories and misfortunes.

Colonies, ſometimes conſiſting of ten thouſand men [m], left their native country to cultivate the lands of the vanquiſhed [n]. Theſe emigrations, with the frequent wars in which the Athenians engaged, would have depopulated Attica, had not foreigners

[k] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 105 et 108. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11, p. 59 et 63.
[l] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 111.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 54.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 67. Plut. in Per. p. 163.

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thronged into this little country, invited by the decree of Themiſtocles, which there offered them an aſylum, and ſtill more by the deſire of participating in the glory and advantage of ſuch numerous conqueſts.

The immoderate ambition of the republic was too well ſeconded by able and enterpriſing generals. Such were Myronides, who took Phocis, and almoſt all Bœotia, in a ſingle campaign [o]; Tolmidas, who about the ſame time ravaged the coaſts of Peloponneſus [p]; and Pericles, who now began to lay the foundation of his glory, and availed himſelf of the frequent abſence of Cimon to obtain a deciſive influence over the minds of the people.

The Athenians did not now wage direct war with Lacedæmon, but exerciſed frequent hoſtilities againſt her and her allies. In concert with the Argives they on one occaſion attempted to oppoſe the return of a body of troops, whom their particular intereſts had led from Peloponneſus into Bœo-

[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 63. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 108.
[p] Diod. ibid. p. 64. Thucyd. ibid.

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tia. The battle was fought near the city of Tanagra *. The Athenians were defeated, and the Lacedæmonians quietly continued their march [q]. The former now dreaded an open rupture. On theſe occaſions the republic bluſhed at her injuſtice, and her leaders laid aſide their rivalry. All eyes were turned towards Cimon, whom they had exiled a few years before; and Pericles, who had procured his baniſhment, undertook to propoſe the decree for his recall [r].

This great man, honoured with the eſteem of the Spartans, and ſecure in the confidence of the Athenians, exerted all his endeavours to recall them to pacific views [s], and prevailed on them at leaſt to ſign a truce for five years †. But as the Athenians could no longer bear the inactivity of peace, he loſt no time in leading them into Cyprus, where he gained ſuch ſignal advantages

* Towards the year 456 before Chriſt.
[q] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 108.
[r] Plut. in Cim. p. 490.
[s] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 112. Plut. ibid.
† The year 450 before Chriſt.

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over the Perſians, as to compel Artaxerxes to ſue for peace as a ſuppliant *. The conditions were humiliating for the great king, and ſuch as he would himſelf have dictated to a band of robbers, who had infeſted the frontiers of his kingdom. He acknowledged the independence of the Greek cities of Ionia, and it was ſtipulated that his ſhips of war ſhould not enter the ſeas of Greece, nor his land troops approach nearer to the coaſt than the diſtance of three days march. The Athenians, on their part, ſwore to make no inroads on the territories of Artaxerxes †.

Such were the laws which a city of Greece impoſed on the greateſt empire of the world. Thirty years before, the reſolution of the ſame city to reſiſt that power was conſidered as the mere effect of deſperation, and her ſucceſs as a prodigy. Cimon did not long enjoy his glory: he ended his days in Cyprus. With his death terminated the proſperity of the Athenians; and here I ſhould conclude this part of their hiſtory, had I not to col-

* The year 449 before Chriſt.
† Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 74.

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lect a few circumſtances that characterize the age in which he lived.

When the Perſians invaded Greece, two motives of fear induced the Athenians to make a vigorous reſiſtance: the dread of ſlavery, which in free nations has at all times produced more virtues than the principles of their political inſtitutions; and the dread of public ignominy, which among all nations is often ſubſtituted for virtue. The former operated more powerfully on the Athenians, as they began to enjoy that liberty which had coſt them two ages of diſſenſions; the latter they owed to their education and long habit. At this period they were happily under the dominion of that modeſty [u] which bluſhes at licentiouſneſs as well as cowardice; which inclines every citizen to confine himſelf within the limits of his condition or thoſe aſſigned him by his abilities; which makes the law a check for the powerful, the practice of his duties a reſource for the feeble,

[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, p. 699.

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and renders the eſteem of his fellow-citizens indiſpenſable to every one.

Men ſhunned employments, becauſe they were worthy of them[x]; none ventured to aſpire to diſtinctions, becauſe the reſpect of the public ſufficed to recompenſe ſervices rendered to the ſtate. Never were greater actions performed than in this age; never were men more remote from the idea that the glory of ſuch actions ſhould be confined to a few individuals. Statues were erected in honour of Solon, of Harmodius, and Ariſtogiton; but it was not till after their death. Ariſtides and Themiſtocles ſaved the republic, but that republic did not even decree them a ſingle crown of laurel[y]. When Miltiades, after the battle of Marathon, ſolicited that honour in the aſſembly of the people, ſome one roſe up, and ſaid: "Miltiades, when you ſhall alone repulſe the barbarians, you alone ſhall be honoured with a crown[z]." Not long after ſome

[x] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 328.
[y] Æſchin. Orat. cont. Cteſiph. p. 457.
[z] Plut. in Cim. p. 483.

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Athenian troops, under the command of Cimon, gaining conſiderable advantages in Thrace, on their return demanded a reward. In the commemorative inſcriptions that were engraven a general eulogium was paſſed on the troops, but no perſon was particularly named [a].

As each citizen might be uſeful, and was not liable to be humiliated every inſtant by unjuſt diſtinctions, all knew they had it in their power to acquire perſonal reſpect; and, as manners were pure and ſimple, they poſſeſſed in general that independence and dignity, which men loſe only by the multiplicity of wants and intereſts.

I ſhall not adduce, as doing honour to this age, the diſtinguiſhed homage rendered by the Athenians to the integrity of Ariſtides. This happened at a repreſentation of one of the dramas of Æſchylus. The actor having ſaid that Amphiaraus was leſs anxious to appear a man of worth than really to be ſo, every eye was immediately turned

[a] Æſchin. Orat. cont. Cteſiph. p. 458. Plut. in Cim. p. 482.

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towards Ariſtides [b]. A nation that is corrupted might make a ſimilar application: but the Athenians had always more deference for the opinions of Ariſtides than for thoſe of Themiſtocles; and this we ſhould not have ſeen in a corrupted nation.

After their ſucceſſes againſt the Perſians, the pride attendant on victory [c] united itſelf in their hearts with the virtues by which that victory had been procured; and this pride appeared the more well founded, as men had never fought in a more juſt or more important cauſe.

When a poor and virtuous nation ſuddenly attains a certain point of elevation, one of two things muſt neceſſarily happen; either that to preſerve its conſtitution it ſhall renounce every idea of aggrandizement, in which caſe it peaceably enjoys its own eſteem, and the reſpect of other nations, which happened to the Lacedæmonians; or that it ſhall determine at any rate to increaſe its power, and then it

[b] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 320.
[c] Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 779.

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becomes unjuſt and oppreſſive, as was the caſe with the Athenians.

Themiſtocles led them aſtray in the path he pointed out to them; and their leading ſtateſmen, far from moderating, ſeemed only attentive to inflame their ardour.

On the ſecond invaſion of the Perſians, Miltiades propoſed to meet the enemy in the open field[d]. This project was worthy the conqueror of Marathon. That of Themiſtocles was perhaps ſtill bolder: he ventured to adviſe the Athenians to truſt their fate to a naval combat. There were powerful reaſons againſt this plan of defence. The Athenians ſcarcely knew how to ſteer their feeble ſhips; they had no experience in maritime engagements. It was impoſſible to foreſee that Xerxes would attack the Greeks in a ſtrait; and how could Themiſtocles flatter himſelf, as he aſſerted, that he ſhould be able at all events to force a paſſage through the Perſian fleet, and ſafely convey the people of Athens to a diſtant country?

[d] Steſimbr. ap. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 115.

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However this may be, ſucceſs juſtified Themiſtocles.

But if the eſtabliſhment of a navy proved the ſalvation of Athens, it ſoon became the inſtrument of her ambition and her ruin [e]. Themiſtocles, who wiſhed to render his country the moſt powerful ſtate in Greece, that he might be the firſt citizen of that ſtate, gave orders to form a new port, to build an additional number of galleys, and put on board the fleet the ſoldiers, artiſans, huſbandmen, and that multitude of ſtrangers he had brought to Athens from every nation. After counſelling them to ſpare the ſtates on the continent who had joined Xerxes, he attacked without mercy the iſlands which had been under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Perſians [f]: he ſeized on their treaſures; and on his return to his country purchaſed partiſans, whom he retained and diſguſted by his oſtentation. Cimon and the other generals, enriched by the ſame means, diſplayed a mag-

[e] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 393.
[f] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.

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nificence hitherto unknown: after the example of Themiſtocles, they had now no other object but to concur in the aggrandizement of the republic; an idea that prevailed in every mind.

The people, elated with pride at ſeeing their generals lay at their feet the ſpoils and voluntary or forced ſubmiſſions of the cities united to their dominions, impetuouſly diſperſed themſelves over all the ſeas, and appeared on every coaſt, multiplying conqueſts which inſenſibly perverted the character of the national valour: for theſe courageous ſoldiers, who had braved death in the fields of Marathon and Platæa, now ſervilely occupied in maritime operations, were, for the moſt part, employed only in attempting cautious deſcents, ſurpriſing defenceleſs towns, and ravaging abandoned fields; a ſpecies of war that teaches men to eſtimate their comparative ſtrength, to approach the enemy with care and fear, and to take to flight without a bluſh[s].

[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4, t. ii. p. 706.

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The national manners received the fatal blow which an intercourſe with foreigners, the rivalry of power or influence, the ſpirit of conqueſt, and the thirſt of gain, inevitably give to a government founded on virtue. That multitude of obſcure citizens who ſerved on board the fleets, and to whom the republic owed every attention, ſince ſhe owed to them her glory, contracted in their expeditions the vices of pirates; and, becoming every day more enterpriſing, ruled without controul in the public aſſembly, and transferred the authority into the hands of the multitude, an almoſt unavoidable conſequence in a ſtate poſſeſſing a flouriſhing navy [h]. Two or three anecdotes will ſhew how very ſoon the principles of right and equity became enfeebled among the people.

Some months after the battle of Platæa, Themiſtocles publicly declared that he had conceived an important project, the ſucceſs of which could only be ſecured by the moſt

[h] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 3, p. 389 et 390. Plut. in Them. p. 121.

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impenetrable ſecrecy. The people anſwered: "Let it be communicated to Ariſtides, we refer ourſelves to him." Themiſtocles drew the latter aſide, and ſaid to him: "The fleet of our allies is now lying, without ſuſpicion, in the port of Pagaſæ; I propoſe to burn it, and we are maſters of Greece." "Athenians," ſaid Ariſtides, "nothing can be more for your intereſt than the project of Themiſtocles; but nothing can be ſo unjuſt." We will hear no more of it, exclaimed the whole aſſembly with one voice [i].

Some years after, the Samians propoſed to the Athenians to violate an article of the treaty entered into with the allies. The people aſked the opinion of Ariſtides: "The propoſal of the Samians is unjuſt," anſwered he, "but it is to your intereſt." The people approved the project of the Samians [k]. In a word, after a ſhort interval of time, and under Pericles, the Athenians,

[i] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 332. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.
[k] Id. in Ariſt. p. 334.

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on more occaſions than one, had the inſolence to avow that the only law of nations they were acquainted with was force [l].

SECT. III.

AGE OF PERICLES *.

PERICLES very early perceived, that his birth and riches gave him claims to power, and rendered him ſuſpected by his fellow-citizens. His fears were augmented by other circumſtances. Some old men, who had known Piſiſtratus, thought they diſcovered him again in the young Pericles, who they affirmed had the ſame features, the ſame tone of voice, and the ſame powers of eloquence [m]: it was neceſſary to obtain a par-

[l] Thucydid. lib. 5, cap. 89, &c.
* From the year 444 to the year 404 before Chriſt.
[m] Plut. in Per. p. 155.

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don for this reſemblance, and its concomitant advantages. Pericles dedicated his early years to the ſtudy of philoſophy, without interfering in public affairs, and appeared to court no other diſtinction but that of valour [n].

After the death of Ariſtides and the exile of Themiſtocles, Cimon took the reins of government; but, frequently occupied with diſtant expeditions, left the Athenians to fluctuate between ſeveral candidates, incapable of fixing their confidence. Pericles was now ſeen to withdraw himſelf from ſociety, renounce pleaſures, and attract the attention of the multitude by a ſolemn ſtep, a decent carriage, a modeſt exterior, and irreproachable manners [o]. At length he appeared in the aſſembly, and his firſt eſſays aſtoniſhed the Athenians. He was indebted to nature for making him the moſt eloquent of men, and to ſtudy for perfecting what he had received from nature, and render-

[n] Plut. in Per. p. 155.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 154 et 155.

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ing him the first of the Grecian orators [p].

The celebrated masters who had instructed his infancy, continuing to guide him by their counsels, taught him the first principles of politics and morals: his genius made their knowledge his own [q]; hence that profundity, that plenitude of information, that force of style, which he could occasionally soften, those graces which he did not neglect but never affected, and other innumerable great qualities that enabled him to persuade such as he could not convince, and to impel even those who were alike insensible to persuasion and conviction.

His discourses discovered a commanding majesty that overwhelmed the mind. This was the fruit of his conversations with the philosopher Anaxagoras, who, by explaining to him the principles of beings and the phænomena of nature, seemed to have raised

[p] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 11, t. i. p. 345. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 96.
[q] Plut. in Per. p. 156.

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to ſtill greater ſublimity his naturally elevated mind[r].

Nor was the dexterity with which he preſſed his adverſaries and eluded their purſuits leſs admired. For this he was indebted to the philoſopher Zeno of Elea, who had more than once conducted him through the mazes of a captious logic, to diſcover to him its ſecret iſſues[s]; one of the greateſt antagoniſts of Pericles therefore often ſaid: "When I have got him down, and am holding him under me, he cries out that he is not vanquiſhed, and perſuades every body to believe him[t]."

Pericles knew the Athenians too well not to found his hopes on his eloquence, and was too well acquainted with the excellence of that endowment not to be the firſt to reſpect it. Before he appeared in public, he ſecretly endeavoured ſtrongly to impreſs his mind with the idea that he was

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[r] Plut. in Per. p. 156.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 154.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 156. Id. Præc. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 802.

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about to addreſs free men, Greeks, and Athenians [u].

He refrained notwithſtanding, as much as poſſible, from appearing at the aſſembly, becauſe, always intent on purſuing gradually the project of raiſing himſelf to power, he feared by new ſucceſſes to obliterate the impreſſion made by thoſe he had before obtained, and too precipitately to carry the admiration of the people to that point whence it only can deſcend. The public judged that an orator, who diſdained the applauſes he was certain of receiving, merited the confidence he did not ſeek, and that the affairs he propoſed for diſcuſſion muſt be important indeed, ſince they had conſtrained him to break ſilence [x].

A high idea was formed of the power he had over his own paſſions, when one day that the aſſembly continued its deliberations until night, they ſaw him perpetually interrupted and inſulted by a ſimple individual, who followed him with revilings even to

[u] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 186.
[x] Plut. in Per. p. 155.

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his houſe, where Pericles coolly directed one of his ſlaves to take a flambeau and light the man home [7].

When it was obſerved, in ſhort, that he diſplayed in every thing not only the talent, but even the virtue adapted to the circumſtance; in his domeſtic life, the ſimplicity and frugality of ancient times; in the adminiſtration of public affairs, an unalterable diſintereſtedneſs and probity; in the command of armies, a careful attention to leave nothing to chance, and to riſk his reputation rather than the ſafety of the ſtate [8]; men concluded that a mind capable of contemning praiſe and inſult, wealth, ſuperfluities, and even glory itſelf, could not but poſſeſs that noble zeal for the public good that annihilates all other paſſions, or at leaſt concentrates them in a ſingle ſentiment.

It was this illuſion above all that raiſed Pericles; and he found means to maintain the character he had acquired forty years [9],

[7] Plut. in Per. p. 154.
[8] Id. ibid. p. 161, 162, &c.
[9] Id. ibid. p. 161.

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in the midſt of an enlightened people, jealous of their authority, and who as eaſily tired of their admiration as their obedience.

He firſt ſhared the public favour before he obtained it undivided. Cimon was at the head of the nobles and the rich; Pericles declared in favour of the multitude he deſpiſed, which gave him a conſiderable party. Cimon, who by lawful means had acquired an immenſe fortune in his expeditions, employed it in embelliſhing the city and in relieving the wretched. Pericles, by the aſcendency he had gained, diſpoſed of the public treaſure of the Athenians and their allies, filled Athens with the nobleſt productions of art, aſſigned penſions to the pooreſt citizens, diſtributed among them part of the conquered lands, augmented the number of the feſtivals, and granted an emolument to thoſe who ſat as judges in the courts, and thoſe who ſhould be preſent at the ſpectacles and general aſſemblies [b].

[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 336. Plut. in Per. p. 156 et 157.

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The people ſeeing only the hand that gave, ſhut their eyes to the ſource from whence it drew. They became more and more united to Pericles, who, to attach them ſtill more ſtrongly to himſelf, rendered them the accomplices of the repeated acts of injuſtice of which he was guilty, and made uſe of them to ſtrike thoſe great ſtrokes which by manifeſting power augment it. He procured the baniſhment of Cimon, on a falſe accuſation of maintaining a ſuſpicious correſpondence with the Lacedæmonians [c]; and, under frivolous pretexts, deſtroyed the authority of the Areopagus, which vigorouſly oppoſed its influence to his innovations and the growing licentiouſneſs of the times [d].

After the death of Cimon, Thucydides, his brother-in-law, laboured to reanimate the tottering party of the principal citizens. He poſſeſſed not the military talents of Pericles; yet, equally ſkilful with him in managing the inclinations and prejudices of the public, he for ſome time maintained an

[c] Plut. in Cim. p. 489.
[d] Id. in Per. p. 157.

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equilibrium, but at length was condemned to baniſhment by the oſtraciſm [e].

From this moment Pericles changed his ſyſtem: he had ſubjugated the party of the rich by flattering the multitude; and he now ſubjugated the multitude by reſtraining their caprices, ſometimes by an invincible oppoſition, and at others by the wiſdom of his counſels, or the charms of his eloquence [f]. Every thing was governed by his will, though every thing was apparently tranſacted according to the eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms; and liberty, lulled into ſecurity by the obſervance of the republican forms, imperceptibly expired under the tyranny of genius.

In proportion as Pericles augmented his power, he was leſs laviſh of his influence and his preſence. Confining himſelf to a ſmall circle of relations and friends, he was ſuppoſed to be ſolely occupied with plans for the pacification or overthrow of Greece, while, from his retirement, he

[e] Plut. in Per. p. 158 et 161.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 161.

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kept a vigilant eye over the different branches of government. The Athenians, docile to the impulſe, implicitly obeyed the firſt mover, becauſe they rarely ſaw him court their ſuffrages; and equally extravagant in their expreſſions as their ſentiments, they repreſented Pericles only under the ſemblance of the moſt potent of the gods. Was his voice heard on important occaſions; they exclaimed that Jupiter had entruſted him with his thunder and his lightning[s]; did he, on others, act only by the mediation of his creatures; they reflected that the ſovereign of the ſkies committed to ſubordinate genii the minutiæ of the government of the univerſe.

Pericles extended, by ſplendid victories, the dominions of the republic; but when he ſaw the Athenian power attain to a certain point of elevation, he deemed it diſgraceful to ſuffer it to decline, and a misfortune any farther to augment it. All his operations were governed by this conſide-

[s] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 529. Plut. in Per. p. 156. Cic. Orat. cap. 9, t. i. p. 426.

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ration; and it was the triumph of his politics ſo long to have retained the Athenians in inaction, while he held their allies in dependence, and kept Lacedæmon in awe.

The Athenians, full of the conſciouſneſs of their power, of that conſciouſneſs which in the higher ranks produces haughtineſs and pride, but in the multitude inſolence and ferocity, no longer confined their views to the ſovereignty of Greece, but meditated the conqueſt of Egypt, Carthage, Sicily, and Etruria. Pericles ſuffered theſe vaſt projects to evaporate, and only was the more attentive to the conduct of the allies of Athens[h].

The republic ſucceſſively broke through thoſe ties of equality which had formed the confederation between them and their allies: they impoſed a yoke on them more humiliating than the conditions they had exacted from the barbarians, as it is more eaſy to accuſtom men to ſubmit to violence than to injuſtice. Among other ſubjects of

[h] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 402. Plut. in Per. p. 164.

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complaint, the allies reproached the Athenians with applying to the embelliſhment of their city the ſums annually granted by them all to carry on the war againſt the Perſians. Pericles anſwered, that the fleets of the republic ſecured her allies from the inſults of the barbarians, and that ſhe had no other engagement to fulfil [i]. On this Eubœa, Samos, and Byzantium revolted; but Eubœa ſoon after returned to her obedience [k], Byzantium brought again the cuſtomary tribute [l], and Samos, after a vigorous reſiſtance, indemnified the Athenians for the expences of the war, delivered up her ſhips, demoliſhed her walls, and gave hoſtages [m].

The Peloponneſian league had now a new proof of the deſpotiſm the Athenians exerciſed over their allies, and to which they would one day ſubject their enemies. Alarmed for a long time paſt at the rapidity of their progreſs, and by no means relying

[i] Plut. in Per. p. 158.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 75.
[l] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 117.
[m] Id. ibid. Plut. in Per. p. 167.

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on the ſubſiſting treaties, confirmed by a truce of thirty years[n]*, the confederates would more than once have arreſted the courſe of their victories, had they been able to overcome the extreme repugnance of the Lacedæmonians for every kind of war.

Such was the diſpoſition of men's minds among the Grecian ſtates. Pericles was odious to ſome, and formidable to all. His reign, for ſo his adminiſtration may be called[o], had not been ſhaken by the clamours of envy, and ſtill leſs by the ſatires or ſallies of pleaſantry launched againſt him from the theatre, or in ſociety. But to that ſpecies of vengeance which conſoles the people for their weakneſs, at length ſucceeded confuſed murmurs, mingled with a gloomy inquietude that preſaged an approaching revolution. His enemies, not daring directly to attack him, tried their weapons againſt thoſe who had merited his protection or his friendſhip.

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[n] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 115.

* The year 445 before Chriſt. Dodwell, in Annal. Thucyd. p. 104.

[o] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 65. Plut. in Per. p. 156.

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Phidias, entruſted with the ſuperintendance of the ſuperb monuments which decorate Athens, was accuſed of having embezzled part of the gold he had received to enrich the ſtatue of Minerva: he proved his innocence, but nevertheleſs ended his days in priſon. Anaxagoras, the moſt religious perhaps of the philoſophers, was judicially proſecuted for impiety, and obliged to fly. The ſpouſe, the tender friend of Pericles, the celebrated Aſpaſia, accuſed of having inſulted religion by her converſation, and good morals by her conduct, pleaded her own cauſe; and the tears of her huſband with difficulty ſaved her from the ſeverity of her judges [p].

Theſe attacks were but the prelude of thoſe intended againſt Pericles himſelf, when an unforeſeen event revived his hopes, and more firmly eſtabliſhed his authority.

Corcyra had for ſome years been at war with Corinth [q], from which city ſhe derives her origin. By the general law of Greece

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 95. Plut. in Per. p. 169. Philoch. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 604.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 25, &c.

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a foreign power is not to intermeddle in the differences between a mother country and her colonies. But it was the intereſt of the Athenians to attach to themſelves a people with a flouriſhing navy, and whoſe ſituation enabled them to favour the paſſage of their fleets into Sicily and Italy. They admitted the Corcyreans into their alliance, and ſent them ſuccours; on which the Corinthians loudly complained that the Athenians had broken the truce.

Potidæa, another colony of the Corinthians, had taken part with the Athenians. The latter, ſuſpecting their fidelity, ordered the Potidæans not only to give them hoſtages, but to demoliſh their walls, and to expel the magiſtrates annually ſent them, conformably to cuſtom, by the mother country. Potidæa upon this joined the Peloponneſian league, and was laid ſiege to by the Athenians[r].

Some time before, the Athenians, under ſome frivolous pretext, had excluded from their ports and markets the inhabitants of

[r] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 56.

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Megara, the allies of Lacedæmon[s]. Other cities had been likewiſe deprived of their laws and liberties.

Corinth, wiſhing to excite a general war, eſpouſed their quarrels, and found means to engage them to demand exemplary ſatisfaction through the Lacedæmonians, the chiefs of the Peloponneſian league[t]. The deputies of theſe different cities arrive at Lacedæmon: they are aſſembled, and expoſe their grievances with equal aſperity and vehemence; they relate their paſt ſufferings, their future apprehenſions, and utter all that a juſt vengeance can dictate, or jealouſy and hatred inſpire. When the minds of the aſſembly are prepared to receive ſtill ſtronger impreſſions, one of the Corinthian ambaſſadors takes up the ſubject[u], and reproaches the Lacedæmonians with that good faith, which forbids them to ſuſpect the inſincerity of others; and that moderation imputed to them as a merit, which renders

[s] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 67. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 96.
[t] Thucyd. ibid.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 68.

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them ſo indifferent to the intereſts of the neighbouring powers. "How often have we appriſed you," ſay they, "of the projects of the Athenians? and how neceſſary is it again to remind you of them? Corcyra, whoſe navy might, on occaſion, ſo powerfully aſſiſt us, has entered into their alliance; Potidæa, the city which ſecured our poſſeſſions in Thrace, is about to fall into their hands. We accuſe none but you as the authors of our loſſes; you, who, after the Median war, permitted our enemies to fortify their city, and extend their conqueſts; you, who are the protectors of liberty, yet by your ſilence favour ſlavery; you, who deliberate when it is time to act, and who never think of your defence till the enemy falls on you with all his forces. It is ſtill freſh in our memories, that the Medes iſſuing from the depths of Aſia had over-run all Greece, and penetrated even into Peloponneſus, whilſt you remained inactive in your houſes. It is not againſt a diſtant nation you will have to fight, but againſt a people at your doors; againſt thoſe Athenians whoſe reſources and

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character you have never known, and with which you ſtill are unacquainted: a people ardent in forming projects; ſkilful in varying them according to circumſtances; ſo prompt in their execution, that to deſire and to poſſeſs with them are the ſame thing; ſo preſumptuous as to imagine themſelves robbed of thoſe conqueſts they have not been able to effect; and ſo graſping as never to limit themſelves to thoſe they have obtained: a bold and turbulent nation, whoſe courage augments with their danger, as their hope increaſes with misfortune; who regard indolence as a torment, and whom the gods in their anger have caſt upon the earth, never to know repoſe, nor ever to ſuffer it to be enjoyed by others.

"What have you to oppoſe to ſo many advantages? Projects beneath your powers, diffidence in the wiſeſt reſolutions, tardineſs in your operations, diſcouragement at the ſlighteſt check, dread of extending your domains, negligence in preſerving them; every thing, even your very principles, is as injurious to the repoſe of Greece as to your own

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own ſafety. Not to attack any one; to be always prepared againſt an attack; theſe means do not always appear to you ſufficient to ſecure the happineſs of a people. You wiſh never to repel inſult, but when ſome real prejudice reſults from it to the country: a fatal maxim, which, if adopted by the neighbouring nations, would ſcarcely ſecure you from their invaſions.

" O Lacedæmonians! your conduct is too ſtrongly tinctured with the ſimplicity of the firſt ages. Other times demand other manners, and another ſyſtem. Immobility of principles can ſuit only a ſtate certain of enjoying an eternal peace; but when, by her connections with other nations, the intereſts of a city become more complicated, ſhe muſt recur to a more refined policy. Abjure then, after the example of the Athenians, that uprightneſs which cannot accommodate itſelf to events; lay aſide that indolence which keeps you ſhut up within the precincts of your walls, make an irruption into Attica, and force not your allies, your faithful friends, to

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throw themſelves into the arms of your enemies. Then, placed at the head of the nations of Peloponneſus, you will ſhew yourſelves worthy of the empire our anceſtors beſtowed on your virtues."

Some Athenian deputies, brought by other affairs to Lacedæmon, deſired to ſpeak; not to reply to the accuſations they had heard, the Lacedæmonians were not their judges; they wiſhed only to induce the aſſembly to ſuſpend a deciſion which might be followed by the moſt fatal conſequences[x].

They reminded the Lacedæmonians with much complacency of the battles of Marathon and Salamis. Theſe the Athenians had gained: they had expelled the barbarians, and ſaved Greece. A people capable of ſuch great achievements doubtleſs merited ſome attention. "Envy," ſaid they, "now imputes to them as a crime the authority they exerciſe over part of the Grecian ſtates; but it is Lacedæmon who has tranſferred to them that right: they preſerve it, becauſe it could not be abandoned without

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 72.

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danger: they exert it however with mildneſs, and not with ſeverity; and if they are ſometimes obliged to employ rigour, it is from the impoſſibility of retaining the weak in ſubjection by other means than force. Let Lacedæmon ceaſe to liſten to the unjuſt complaints of the allies of Athens, and the jealous anger of her own: let her, before ſhe takes a part in the diſpute, reflect on the importance of the intereſts about to be diſcuſſed, and on the uncertainty of the events which may follow a deciſion. Away with that intoxication that allows nations only to liſten to the voice of reaſon, when they have ſunk into the depths of miſery; which makes every war terminate but where it ſhould have begun. There is yet time, and we may bring our differences to an amicable concluſion, by the mode preſcribed to us by treaties: but if, in contempt of oaths, you break the truce, we will take the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witneſs, and prepare for the moſt vigorous defence."

Having ended this harangue, the ambaſ-

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ſadors quitted the aſſembly; and king Archidamus, who united long experience to profound wiſdom, perceiving, from the agitation of men's minds, that war was inevitable, was deſirous at leaſt to retard the deciſive moment.

"People of Lacedæmon," ſaid he[y], "I have been witneſs of many wars, as have alſo ſeveral amongſt you, and am for that very reaſon but the more diſpoſed to fear for the event of that you are about to undertake. Without preparations, and without reſources, you are going to attack a nation expert in naval affairs, formidable from the number of its ſoldiers and its ſhips, and rich from the productions of its country and the tributes of its allies. What is to inſpire you with this confidence? Is it your fleet? What a length of time will it require to reſtore it? Is it the ſtate of your finances? We have no public treaſury[z], and individuals are poor. Is it the hope of detaching from Athens her allies[a]? but as the greater part of them are

[y] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 79.
[z] Plut. Apophth. Lac. t. ii. p. 217.
[a] Thucyd. ibid.

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iſlanders, you muſt be maſters of the ſea, to excite and maintain their defection. Is it the project of ravaging the plains of Attica, and of terminating this mighty quarrel in one campaign? Alas! do you imagine that the loſs of a ſingle harveſt in a country with a flouriſhing commerce will engage the Athenians to ſue to you for peace? Ah! how much more do I dread that we ſhall be compelled to leave this war as a wretched inheritance to our children! The hoſtilities of cities and individuals are tranſient; but when war is once enkindled between two powerful ſtates, it is as difficult to foreſee the conſequences as to extricate ourſelves with honour.

"I am not of opinion that we ſhould abandon our allies to oppreſſion; I only ſay that, previous to taking arms, we ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the Athenians, and open a negociation. They have juſt propoſed to us this mode; and it were injuſtice to refuſe it. In the interval we ſhall addreſs ourſelves to the nations of Greece, and, ſince neceſſity requires it, to the bar-

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barians themſelves, in order to obtain ſuccours in money and ſhips. If the Athenians reject our complaints, we will repeat them after two or three years preparations, when we ſhall perhaps find them more tractable.

" The tardineſs imputed to us has always conſtituted our ſecurity: never have praiſes or reproaches excited us to raſh enterpriſes. We are not ſkilled enough to depreciate, by eloquent harangues, the power of our enemies; but we know that, to enable us to conquer, we muſt eſteem them, judge of their conduct by our own, guard ourſelves againſt their prudence as well as againſt their valour, and reckon leſs upon their errors than on the wiſdom of our own precautions. We are of opinion that one man does not differ from another, but that the moſt formidable is he who, on critical occaſions, conducts himſelf with the moſt prudence and wiſdom.

" Let us not deviate from the maxims we have received from our fathers, and which have preſerved this ſtate. Deliberate

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at leiſure; let not a ſingle moment decide on your properties, your glory, the blood of ſo many citizens, and the deſtiny of ſo many nations: let war be prepared for, but declare it not; make your preparations as if you expected nothing from your negociations; and reflect that theſe meaſures are the moſt uſeful to your country, and the beſt adapted to intimidate the Athenians."

The harangue of Archidamus would perhaps have prevented the Lacedæmonians from immediately reſolving on war, had not Sthenelaidas, one of the ephori, to divert its effect, immediately exclaimed [b]:

"I can underſtand nothing of the verboſe eloquence of the Athenians: their own eulogium is their inexhauſtible theme, but they never utter a ſingle word which makes for their defence. The more irreproachable their conduct in the Median war, the more diſgraceful is it at this day; and I declare them doubly culpable, ſince they were virtuous, and have ceaſed to be ſo. As for us, ever the ſame, we will not betray our allies,

[b] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 86.

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but defend them with the ſame ardour with which they are attacked. The queſtion however is not now reſpecting ſpeeches and diſcuſſions; it is not by words that our allies have been injured. The moſt ſpeedy vengeance alone can now befit the dignity of Sparta: and let it not be ſaid that we ſhould deliberate after receiving an inſult; our enemies ſhould have deliberated before they inſulted us. Give your voices then for war, O Lacedæmonians! and at length preſcribe ſome limits to the injuſtice and ambition of the Athenians. Let us march, ſecure of the protection of the gods, againſt theſe invaders of liberty."

He ſpoke, and inſtantly called on the people to give their ſuffrages. Many of the aſſembly ſupported the opinion of the king; but the greater number voted that the Athenians had broken the truce, and it was determined to convoke a general council of their allies to proceed to a final reſolution.

All the deputies being arrived, the queſtion was again diſcuſſed, and war deter-

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mined on by the plurality of voices [c]. As no preparations however were yet made, the Lacedæmonians were desired to send deputies to the Athenians, and to lay before them the complaints of the confederated states of Peloponnesus.

The object of the first embassy was only to obtain the banishment of Pericles, or to render him odious to the multitude [d]. The ambassadors made a pretext of motives foreign from the differences in question, and which made no impression on the Athenians.

New deputies offered to continue the truce; they proposed some conditions, and finally limited their demands to the revocation of that decree which interdicted the commerce of Attica to the inhabitants of Megara [e]. Pericles replied, that the laws did not allow them to remove the tablet on which this decree was inscribed. "If you cannot remove it," said one of the

[c] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 125.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 126.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 139.

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ambaſſadors, " only turn it, your laws do not forbid that [f]."

In fine, in a third embaſſy, the deputies contented themſelves with ſaying: " The Lacedæmonians deſire peace, and make it depend only on one point. Permit the Grecian cities to govern themſelves according to their laws [g]."

This propoſition was diſcuſſed, as well as the preceding ones, in the aſſembly of the people. Opinions being divided, Pericles loſt no time in mounting the roſtrum. He repreſented, that conformably to treaties, the differences ariſing between the contracting cities ought to be diſcuſſed by pacific methods, and that in the interim each ſhould enjoy what it poſſeſſed. " In contempt of this formal deciſion," ſaid Pericles, " the Lacedæmonians imperiouſly ſignify to us their will, and, leaving us no alternative but war or ſubmiſſion, command us to renounce the advantages we have gained over their allies. Do they not pub-

[f] Plut. in Per. p. 168.
[g] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 139.

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licly declare that peace depends ſolely on the decree paſſed againſt Megara? and do not ſeveral among you cry out, that ſo trifling a ſubject ſhould not induce us to take up arms? Athenians, ſuch offers are but a palpable ſnare; we muſt reject them, till they treat with us on a footing of equality. Every nation that pretends to dictate laws to a rival nation, holds out chains to it. Should you give way on a ſingle point, they will imagine they have made you fear them, and from that hour will impoſe on you ſtill more humiliating conditions [h].

"And what have you at preſent to apprehend from that crowd of nations who differ as much in their character as in their origin? What prolixity in the convocation of their aſſemblies! What confuſion in the diſcuſſion of their intereſts! They employ one moment in conſulting for the general welfare, but appropriate the remainder of their time to their particular advantages. Theſe think only of their vengeance; thoſe of nothing but their ſafe-

[h] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 140.

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ty; and almoſt all of them, relying on each other for their preſervation, ruſh, without perceiving it, on their common ruin [i]."

Pericles next ſhewed that the Peloponneſian allies, not being in a condition to make many campaigns, the beſt method to enſure ſucceſs would be to weary them out, and oppoſe a war by ſea to their attacks by land. "They will make inroads," continued he, "into Attica; but our fleets will ravage their coaſts, and they will be unable to repair their loſſes, whilſt we ſhall have lands enough to cultivate, either in the iſlands or on the continent. The empire of the ſea gives ſuch a ſuperiority, that were you in an iſland, no power would venture to attack you. No longer conſider Athens as any other than a fortreſs, ſeparated as it were from the land; line the walls that defend it, and fill the ſhips that are in its harbours with ſoldiers. Let the adjacent country be conſidered as foreign to you, and become the prey of the enemy before your eyes. Do not yield to the ſenſeleſs raſhneſs of op-

[i] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 141.

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poſing your valour to the ſuperiority of numbers. A victory would ſoon draw upon you greater armies; a defeat excite thoſe allies we retain in their duty only by force to a revolt. It is not for the deſtruction of your eſtates that you ſhould weep, but for the loſs of ſoldiers you muſt incur in a battle. Oh! did I but poſſeſs the powers of perſuaſion, I would propoſe to you this very inſtant to carry fire and ſword through our fields, and the buildings with which they are covered; that the Lacedæmonians might learn no longer to regard them as pledges of our ſervitude [k].

"I ſhould have other promiſes of certain victory to offer you, were I aſſured that, from the apprehenſion of adding new dangers to thoſe of war, you would not ſtrive to combat with the view of conqueſt: for I am more fearful of your errors than of the projects of the enemy. But we muſt now anſwer the deputies; firſt, that the Megareans ſhall be allowed ſtill to trade with Attica, if the Lacedæmonians will no

[k] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 143.

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longer forbid us and our allies to enter their city; ſecondly, that the Athenians will reſtore to the ſtates they have ſubjected the liberty they formerly enjoyed, if the Lacedæmonians will do the ſame by the cities which depend on them; thirdly, that the league of Athens offers that of Peloponneſus amicably to terminate the differences which at preſent ſubſiſt between them[l]."

After this anſwer, the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors withdrew, and both ſides employed themſelves in preparations for the longeſt and moſt fatal war that ever deſolated Greece*. It laſted ſeven and twenty years[m]; and originated in the ambition of the Athenians, and the juſt fears with which they inſpired the Lacedæmonians and their allies. The enemies of Pericles accuſed him of having promoted it; and it ſeems undeniable that it was uſeful to the reſtoration of his authority.

The Lacedæmonians had for their allies

[l] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 144.
* In the ſpring of the year 431 before Chriſt.
[m] Id. lib. 5, cap. 26.

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the Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians, the people of Megaris, Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorium, and all Peloponnesus, except the Argives, who observed a neutrality [n].

On the side of the Athenians were the Grecian cities situated on the coasts of Asia, those of Thrace and the Hellespont, almost the whole of Acarnania, some other smaller cities, and all the islands, except those of Melos and of Thera. Besides these succours, they were themselves able to furnish the league with thirteen thousand soldiers heavily armed, twelve hundred cavalry, sixteen hundred archers on foot, and three hundred galleys. Sixteen thousand men, chosen from among the citizens too old or too young for the service of the field, and the strangers settled in Athens, were employed to defend the walls of the city and the fortresses of Attica [o].

Six thousand talents * were deposited in the citadel. In case of need, upwards of

[n] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 99.
[o] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 13. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 97.
* 32,400,000 livres (or 1,350,000 l. sterling).

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five hundred more * could be procured by melting the ſacred veſſels, and other reſources which Pericles indicated to the people.

Such were the forces of the Athenians, when Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, after halting at the iſthmus of Corinth, and receiving from each confederated city of Peloponneſus two thirds of the inhabitants able to bear arms [p], advanced ſlowly towards Attica, at the head of ſixty thouſand men [q]. He attempted to renew the negociation, and with that view ſent an ambaſſador to the Athenians, who refuſed to receive him, and commanded him inſtantly to quit the territories of the republic [r]. Archidamus now continuing his march, ſpread his army, in the time of harveſt, over the plains of Attica. The wretched inhabitants had retired at his approach [s], and tranſported their effects to Athens, where the greateſt part of

* 2,700,000 livres (or 112,500 l. ſterling).
[p] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 10.
[q] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 170.
[r] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 12.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 14.

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them found no other asylum but the temples, the tombs, the towers of the ramparts, the obscurest hovels, and the most desolate places. To their regret at having left their ancient and peaceful habitations was added the afflicting circumstance of beholding at a distance their houses consumed by the flames, and the fruits of their fields abandoned to the sword of the enemy [t].

The Athenians, constrained to endure insults aggravated by the recollection of so many glorious exploits, vented their rage and indignation in the most furious exclamations against Pericles, who held their valour enchained [u]. But that statesman answering only by his silence to either their prayers or menaces, dispatched a fleet of a hundred sail for Peloponnesus [x], and repressed the public clamour solely by the energy and dignity of his character.

Archidamus, no longer finding subsistence in Attica, led back his army, laden with

[t] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 17 et 21.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 22.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 23; Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.

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plunder, into Peloponneſus. The Lacedæmonians and their allies returned home, and did not again make their appearance for the remainder of the year. After their retreat, Pericles ſent a ſquadron againſt the Locrians, which gained ſome advantages [y]. The grand fleet, after ſpreading deſolation along the coaſts of Peloponneſus, took, in its return, the iſland of Ægina [z]; and ſoon after, the Athenians marched in a body againſt the inhabitants of Megara, and ravaged their country [a]. The following winter they honoured by public funerals thoſe who had fallen in battle; and Pericles eternized their renown in an eloquent harangue. The Corinthians fitted out forty galleys, made a deſcent in Acarnania, and retreated with loſs [b]. Thus terminated the firſt campaign.

Thoſe which ſucceeded, in like manner preſent only a ſucceſſion of partial actions, haſty excurſions, and enterpriſes that ſeem foreign to the object propoſed on either ſide.

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[y] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 26.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 27.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 31.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 33 et 34.

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Whence happened it that nations so warlike, and such near neighbours, animated by an ancient jealousy, and recent animosities, should attempt nothing but to surprise and avoid each other, to divide their forces, and, by a multitude of desultory diversions without splendour or danger, to multiply and prolong the miseries of war? The cause certainly could only be the impossibility of conducting this war in the manner of any other.

The Peloponnesian league was so superior in land forces, that the Athenians could not risk a general action without exposing themselves to certain ruin. The states which formed that league were ignorant of the art of attacking towns: they had recently failed before a little fortress of Attica [c], nor did they afterwards gain possession of the city of Platæa in Bœotia, defended by a feeble garrison, till after a blockade of near two years, which compelled the inhabitants to surrender for want of provisions [d]. How

[c] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 19.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 78; lib. 3, cap. 20. Dicd. Sic. lib. 12, p. 102 et 109.

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therefore could they flatter themſelves that they ſhould be able to take by aſſault, or reduce by famine, ſuch a city as Athens, which could be defended by thirty thouſand men, and which, being miſtreſs of the ſea, might be eaſily ſupplied with the neceſſary ſubſiſtence?

Accordingly all the enemy could effect was to deſtroy the harveſts of Attica, which they regularly practiſed in the firſt years of the war; but theſe inroads were neceſſarily but tranſient, ſince the invaders, being extremely poor, and wanted at home for their ruſtic labours, could not long remain in arms and in a diſtant country [e]. They at length reſolved to augment the number of their ſhips; but many years were requiſite to acquire the knowledge of managing them, and to attain that experience which the practice of fifty years had procured the Athenians [f]. The ſkill of the latter was ſo decidedly ſuperior at the commencement of the war, that their ſmalleſt ſquadrons did

[e] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 141.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 142.

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not hesitate to attack the largest fleets of the Peloponnesians [g].

In the seventh year of the war *; the Lacedæmonians, to save four hundred and twenty of their soldiers [h] besieged by the Athenians in an island, demanded peace, and delivered up about sixty galleys, which were to be restored to them in case the prisoners were not set at liberty. They never were given up, and the Athenians detaining the vessels [i], the Peloponnesian navy was destroyed. Its restoration was retarded by various incidents until the twentieth year of the war, when the king of Persia engaged by promises and treaties to provide for its maintenance [k]. The Lacedæmonian league now covered the sea with their ships [l]; the two states attacked each other more directly, till, after alternate successes and reverses of fortune, the power of Athens yielded to

[g] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 88.
* Towards the year 424 before Christ.
[h] Id. lib. 4, cap. 8.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 16 et 23.
[k] Id. lib. 8, cap. 5, 18, 36, 45, &c.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 3.

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that of the Lacedæmonians and their allies.

Nor were the Athenians on their ſide better able to give law to Greece by the number of their ſhips, than their enemies by their numerous land forces. When the former appeared with their fleets in places where the Peloponneſians had poſſeſſions, their utmoſt attempts were confined to laying waſte a part of the coaſt, making themſelves maſters of a defenceleſs town, and laying contributions without venturing to penetrate into the country. Was it neceſſary to lay ſiege to ſome ſtrong hold in a diſtant country, though they poſſeſſed more reſources than the Lacedæmonians, the tedioufneſs of the operations exhauſted their finances, and the inconſiderable number of troops they were able to employ. The taking of Potidæa coſt them a great number of ſoldiers, the labour of two years and a half, and two thouſand talents * [m].

* 10,800,000 livres (or 450,000 l. ſterling).

[m] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 64; lib. 2, cap. 70. Dodwell, in Thucyd. p. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 102.

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Thus, from the extreme diverſity of forces, and their exceſſive diſproportion, the war muſt inevitably be ſpun out to a great length: and this Archidamus and Pericles [n], the two ableſt politicians of Greece, had foreſeen; with this difference, that the former imagined that delay was what the Lacedæmonians had moſt to fear, and the latter, that it was a deſirable circumſtance for the Athenians.

It was by no means difficult likewiſe to foreſee that the conflagration would break out, be extinguiſhed, and rage anew at intervals amongſt all the different ſtates. As the neighbouring cities were divided by ſeparate intereſts, and ſome detached themſelves, on the ſlighteſt pretext, from the confederation, whilſt others remained a prey to factions perpetually fomented by Athens and Lacedæmon, it could not but unavoidably happen that war was waged between ſtate and ſtate in the ſame province, between city and city in the ſame ſtate, and between party and party in the ſame city.

[n] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 81 et 141.

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Thucydides, Xenophon, and other celebrated authors, have depicted the miſeries reſulting from theſe long and fatal diſſenſions. Without following them through minute details only intereſting to the people of Greece, I ſhall relate a few of the events which more particularly reſpect the Athenians.

At the commencement of the ſecond year, the enemy returned into Attica, and the plague broke out in Athens[o]. Never did this dreadful ſcourge ravage ſo many climates. Proceeding from Æthiopia, it had viſited Egypt, Libya, part of Perſia, the iſle of Lemnos, and other places. A merchantſhip had no doubt brought it into the Piræus, where it made its firſt appearance, and whence it ſpread with fury over the city, and raged more particularly in thoſe obſcure and unwholeſome dwellings in which the inhabitants of the country were crowded together.

The malady ſucceſſively attacked all parts

[o] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 47.

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of the body [p]: its ſymptoms were dreadful, its progreſs rapid, and the conſequences almoſt always mortal. From the firſt appearance of infection the mind loſt its powers, the body ſeemed to acquire new ſtrength, and it was a cruel ſuffering to reſiſt the diſorder without being able to ſupport the pain. Sleepleſs nights, terrors, inceſſant hiccups, and terrifying convulſions, were not the only torments endured by the ſick. A burning heat devoured their entrails. The wretched ſufferers, covered with ulcers and livid ſpots, their eyes inflamed, their lungs oppreſſed, their bowels torn with agony, and exhaling a fetid odour from their mouths polluted with an impure blood, were ſeen dragging the miſerable remains of themſelves through the ſtreets to ſeek a freer reſpiration, and, unable to extinguiſh the burning thirſt which conſumed their vitals, precipitating themſelves into wells, or rivers covered with flakes of ice.

The greateſt part periſhed on the ſeventh

[p] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 49. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171. Diod. Sic. p. 101. Lucr. lib. 6.

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or ninth day; or if their lives were prolonged beyond that term, they only ſuffered a more painful and more lingering death.

Such as did not ſink under the malady were ſcarcely ever attacked a ſecond time [q]. A feeble conſolation! for they now preſented to the eye only the wretched relics of themſelves. Some had loſt the uſe of ſeveral of their limbs; others retained no idea of the paſt: happy doubtleſs in the unconſciouſneſs of their condition; but they were unable to recognize their friends [r]!

The ſame mode of treatment alternately produced ſalutary and injurious effects: the diſorder ſeemed to ſet all rules and experience at defiance. As it likewiſe raged in many of the Perſian provinces, king Artaxerxes reſolved to invite to their aſſiſtance the celebrated Hippocrates, then in the iſle of Cos [s]: he made him the moſt ſplendid offers of wealth and honours; but the great man replied to the great king, that he

[q] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 51.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 49.
[s] Suid. in Hippocr.

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had neither wants nor deſires, and that he owed his ſkill to Greece rather than to her enemies [t]. He then came to offer his ſervices to the Athenians, who received him with the more gratitude, as the greater part of their phyſicians had fallen victims to their zeal. He exhauſted all the reſources of his art, and often expoſed his life. If he obtained not all the ſucceſs due to ſuch noble and generous conduct, and ſuch ſuperior talents, he at leaſt diſtributed hope and conſolation. It is ſaid that, to purify the air, he cauſed great fires to be kindled in the ſtreets of Athens [u]; others aſſert that this method was employed not unſucceſsfully by a phyſician of Agrigentum, named Acron [x].

At the beginning of this dreadful calamity ſublime examples of filial piety and generous friendſhip were diſplayed; but as the conſequences were almoſt always fatal to the children and the friends, they were

[t] Plut. in Cat. t. i. p. 350. Galen. Quod Opt. Med. t. i.
[u] Ap. Hippocr. t. ii. p. 970.
[x] Plut. de Iſid. et Oſir. t. ii. p. 383.

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but rarely repeated afterwards. Then the moſt reſpectable ties were broken; the eyes about to cloſe for ever, beheld on all ſides only the moſt profound ſolitude [y], and death no longer produced a tear.

This callous inſenſibility gave birth to an unbridled licentiouſneſs. The death of ſo many worthy men, mingled without diſtinction in the ſame tomb with villains; the deſtruction of ſo many fortunes, become ſuddenly the inheritance or prey of the loweſt citizens, made a lively impreſſion on thoſe who have no other principle but fear. Perſuaded that the gods no longer protected or regarded virtue, and that the vengeance of the laws could not be ſo prompt as the death impending over them, they imagined that the inſtability of human poſſeſſions pointed out the uſe that they ſhould make of them, and that having but a few moments to live, they were juſtified at leaſt in paſſing them in the midſt of pleaſures [z].

At the end of two years the plague

[y] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 51.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 53.

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ſeemed to be appeaſed. During this interval of ceſſation it was more than once diſcovered that the ſeeds of the contagion were not eradicated: it broke out again eighteen months after, and during the courſe of a whole year renewed the ſame ſcenes of diſtreſs and horror [a]. At both theſe times a great number of citizens periſhed, among whom are to be reckoned near five thouſand men able to bear arms. The moſt irreparable loſs was that of Pericles, who died of the conſequences of this diſtemper [b] in the third year of the war *. Some time before, the Athenians, exaſperated by the extremity of their ſufferings, had deprived him of his authority, and condemned him to a fine: they had recently acknowledged their injuſtice, and Pericles had granted them his forgiveneſs [c], though he reſumed his authority with diſguſt, from the fickleneſs of the people, and the loſs of

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[a] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 87.
[b] Id. lib. 2, cap. 65. Plut. in Per. p. 173.
* The year 429 before Chriſt, towards the autumn.
[c] Plut. ibid. p. 172.

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his family and the greater part of his friends, who had been carried off by the plague.

When he was about to yield his laſt breath, and no longer ſhewed any ſigns of life, the leading men of Athens, aſſembled around his bed, were ſoothing their affliction by recounting his victories and the number of his trophies: "Theſe actions," ſaid he to them, raiſing himſelf up with difficulty, "are the work of fortune, and common to myſelf with other generals. The only eulogium I merit is, that I have never been the cauſe that any citizen ſhould wear mourning[d]."

If, conformably to the plan of Pericles, the Athenians had continued an offenſive war by ſea, and a defenſive one by land[e]; if, renouncing every idea of conqueſt, they had not riſked the ſafety of the ſtate by raſh enterpriſes, they ſooner or later muſt have triumphed over their enemies, as they on the whole did them more injury than they could receive from them, and as the

[d] Plut. in Per. p. 173.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 65.

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league they headed was almoſt entirely under their command, whilſt that of the Peloponneſus, compoſed of independent nations, might every inſtant be diſſolved. But Pericles died, and was ſucceeded in his authority by Cleon.

This man was of no family, nor poſſeſſed of any real talents, but vain, daring, and violent [f], and on that account acceptable to the multitude. He had attached them to him by his largeſſes; he retained them by inſpiring them with a high idea of the power of Athens, and a ſovereign contempt for that of Lacedæmon [g]. He it was who, one day aſſembling his friends, declared to them that, being on the point of adminiſtering the public affairs, he renounced all connections that might poſſibly induce him to commit injuſtice [h]. He was notwithſtanding the moſt greedy and moſt unjuſt of men.

The honeſt part of the citizens oppoſed

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[f] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 36. Plut. in Nic. p. 524.
[g] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 28.
[h] Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 806.

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to him Nicias, one of the moſt conſiderable and wealthieſt individuals of Athens, who had commanded armies and obtained ſeveral advantages. He had gained the favour of the multitude by feſtivals and acts of liberality[i]: but as he was diffident of himſelf and of fortune[k], and his ſucceſſes had only ſerved to render him more timid, he obtained reſpect, but never a ſuperiority of influence in the public aſſemblies. Reaſon ſpoke coldly from his mouth, whilſt the people required ſtrong emotions, and Cleon excited them by his declamations, his noiſe, and furious geſtures[l]. The latter ſucceeding by accident in an enterpriſe that Nicias had refuſed to undertake, the Athenians, who had ridiculed their own choice, from that moment abandoned themſelves with more confidence to his counſels. They rejected propoſals of peace which had been made by the enemy[m], and placed him at the head of the forces they were ſending into Thrace to check

[i] Plut. in Nic. p. 524.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 16.
[l] Plut. in Nic. p. 528.
[m] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 647 et 664.

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the progreſs of Braſidas, the ableſt general of Lacedæmon. He there drew upon himſelf the contempt of both armies, and, approaching the enemy without caution, ſuffered his army to be ſurpriſed, was one of the firſt to fly, and loſt his life[n].

After his death, Nicias no longer finding any obſtacle to peace, entered into negociations, which were ſoon followed by an offenſive and defenſive alliance*, by which the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were to be firmly united for fifty years[o]. The conditions of the treaty reſtored every thing to the ſame ſituation in which it had been previous to the commencement of the war. Ten years however had elapſed ſince that period, and both ſtates had been enfeebled to no purpoſe.

At length they flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to taſte the ſweets of tranquillity; but their alliance gave birth to new leagues and new diſſenſions. Several

[n] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 10.
* The year 421 before Chriſt.
[o] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 17, 18, &c.

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of the allies of Lacedæmon complained of not being comprehended in the treaty; and, uniting with the Argives, who had hitherto remained neuter, declared againſt the Lacedæmonians. On the other hand, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians reciprocally charged each other with not fulfilling the articles of the treaty: hence aroſe miſunderſtandings and hoſtilities. But it was not until the expiration of ſix years and ten months * that they proceeded to an open rupture [p]; a rupture founded on the moſt frivolous pretext, and which might eaſily have been prevented, had not war been neceſſary to the ambitious projects of Alcibiades.

Some hiſtorians have ſtigmatized the memory of this Athenian with every reproach, and others honoured it with every eulogium, without its being poſſible for us to charge the former with injuſtice or the latter with partiality [q]. It ſeems as if Nature had ex-

* The year 414 before Chriſt.
[p] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 25.
[q] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 11.

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erted herſelf to unite in him the moſt ſtriking extremes ſhe can produce either of vice or virtue[r]. We ſhall here conſider him as connected with the ſtate, the ruin of which he accelerated; and afterward as related to the ſociety of which he completed the corruption.

An illuſtrious birth, conſiderable riches, a moſt diſtinguiſhed figure, graces the moſt ſeductive, a diſcerning and comprehenſive mind, the honour, in fine, of a connection with Pericles; ſuch were the advantages that firſt dazzled the Athenians, and with which none were ſo ſoon dazzled as himſelf[s].

At an age when we ſtand in need only of advice and indulgence, he had a train of flatterers; he aſtoniſhed his maſters by his docility, and his fellow citizens by the licentiouſneſs of his conduct. Socrates, who early foreſaw that this young man would prove the moſt dangerous, if he did

[r] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1.

[s] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 104. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 130. Plut. in Alcib. &c.

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not become the moſt uſeful of the citizens of Athens, ſtudiouſly ſought his friendſhip, obtained it by aſſiduous attention, and never loſt it[t]: he undertook to moderate that vanity which could neither bear a ſuperior or an equal; and ſuch was the aſcendancy of reaſon, or of virtue, on theſe occaſions, that the diſciple wept over his errors, and ſuffered himſelf to be humiliated without a murmur[u].

When he entered the path of popular honours, he wiſhed to owe his ſucceſs leſs to the ſplendour of his magnificence and liberalities, than to the charms of his eloquence[x]. He made his appearance in the roſtrum. A ſlight defect of pronunciation gave to his ſpeech all the ſimple and native graces of early youth[y]; and though he ſometimes heſitated to find the proper word, he was regarded as one of the greateſt ora-

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[t] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 103. Id. in Conv. t. iii. p. 215, &c.
[u] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193 et 194.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 195.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 192. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 44.

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tors of Athens[z]. He had already given proofs of his valour; and from his firſt campaigns, all preſaged that he would one day become the ableſt general in Greece. I ſhall ſay nothing of his mildneſs, his affability, nor of innumerable other qualities which concurred to render him the moſt amiable of men.

That elevation of ſentiment produced by virtue was not to be ſought in his heart; but in it was found that intrepidity[a] which is inſpired by the conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority. No obſtacle, no danger, could either ſurpriſe or diſcourage him; he ſeemed perſuaded that when ſouls of a certain order do not perform all they wiſh, it is becauſe they have not courage to attempt all they can. Compelled by circumſtances to ſerve the enemies of his country, it was as eaſy for him to acquire their confidence by the aſcendancy he had over them, as to govern them by the wiſdom of his counſels: he

[z] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 626. Plut. in Alcib. p. 196. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 130.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 191.

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poſſeſſed this pre-eminence peculiar to himſelf, that he uniformly procured a triumph for the party that he favoured, and that his numerous great actions were never tarniſhed by a ſingle reverſe of fortune [b].

In negociations, he ſometimes employed the light of his underſtanding, which was as vigorous as profound; ſometimes he had recourſe to ſtratagems and perfidy, which no reaſons of ſtate can ever juſtify [c]; on other occaſions he availed himſelf of the pliability of a character which the thirſt of power or the deſire of pleaſing accommodated without difficulty to every conjuncture and change of ſituation. In every nation he commanded reſpect, and ſwayed the public opinion. The Spartans admired his frugality; the Thracians his intemperance; the Bœotians his love of the moſt violent exerciſes; the Ionians his taſte for indolence and voluptuouſneſs; the ſatraps of Aſia a luxury they could not equal [d]. He would

[b] Plut. in Coriol. p. 233. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 6.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 45; lib. 8, cap. 82. Plut. in Alcib. p. 198.
[d] Plut. ibid. p. 203. Nep. ibid. cap. 11.

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have ſhewn himſelf the moſt virtuous of men, had he never known the example of vice; but vice hurried him on without making him its ſlave. It ſhould ſeem as if the profanation of laws and the corruption of manners were conſidered by him only as ſo many victories gained over manners and the laws; it might be ſaid too that his faults were no more than the errors of his vanity. Thoſe exceſſes of levity, frivolity, and imprudence which eſcaped his youth or idle hours, were no longer ſeen on occaſions that demanded firmneſs and reflection. He then united prudence with activity [e]; and pleaſure never ſtole from him any of thoſe moments which were neceſſary to the advancement of his glory, or the promotion of his intereſt.

His vanity could not but ſooner or later have degenerated into ambition: for it was impoſſible but that a man ſo ſuperior to others, and ſo inflamed with the deſire of ruling, ſhould have concluded by exacting obedience, after exhauſting admiration.

[e] Plut. in Alcib. p. 211. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1.

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Accordingly he was all his life jealouſly watched by the leading citizens, ſome of whom dreaded his talents, others his exceſſes[f], and alternately adored, feared, and hated by the people, to whom he had rendered himſelf neceſſary[g]; and as the ſentiments of which he was the object were converted into violent paſſions, it was with paroxyſms of joy or fury[h], that the Athenians raiſed him to honours, condemned him to death, baniſhed, recalled, and a ſecond time proſcribed him.

One day, when from the height of the roſtrum he had gained the ſuffrages of the people, and was returning home eſcorted by the whole aſſembly, he was met by Timon, uſually called the miſanthropiſt, who, ſhaking him by the hand, ſaid: "Courage, my boy; continue to advance thyſelf to power and honour, and I ſhall be indebted to thee for the ruin of Athens[i]."

In another moment of intoxication, the

[f] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 15, Plut. in Alcib. p. 198.
[g] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1472.
[h] Juſtin. lib. 5, cap. 4.
[i] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.

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lower order of the people propoſed to reſtore the kingly power in his favour[k]; but as he would not have been contented with being only a king, the petty ſovereignty of Athens was not ſufficient for his ambition; that could only be ſatisfied by a vaſt empire which would enable him to conquer others.

Born in a republic, he wiſhed to raiſe her above herſelf, before he attempted to lay her at his feet. This undoubtedly was the ſecret of thoſe ſplendid enterpriſes into which he hurried the Athenians. With their ſoldiers he would have ſubjected nations, and the Athenians would have found themſelves imperceptibly enſlaved.

His firſt diſgrace, by checking him almoſt at the outſet of his career, only ſhews us this truth, that his genius and projects were too vaſt for the happineſs of his country. It has been ſaid, that Greece could not bear two Alcibiades'[l]; it ſhould be added, that Athens had one too many. He

[k] Plut. in Alcib. p. 210.
[l] Archeſt. ap. Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.

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it was who determined her to undertake the Sicilian war.

The Athenians had for ſome time meditated the conqueſt of that rich and powerful iſland. Their ambition, repreſſed by Pericles, was ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by Alcibiades. Flattering dreams traced out every night to his imagination the immortal glory which was about to crown him. Sicily was only to be the theatre of his firſt exploits; in fancy he had already made himſelf maſter of Africa, Italy, and Peloponneſus; and he every day amuſed with his vaſt projects the impetuous youth who followed his footſteps, and who were entirely at his diſpoſal [m].

Whilſt affairs were thus circumſtanced, the city of Ægeſta in Sicily, which complained of being oppreſſed by the inhabitants of Selinus and Syracuſe, implored the aſſiſtance of her allies the Athenians; ſhe offered to indemnify them for their expences, and repreſented that if they did not ſpeedily ſtop the progreſs of the Syracuſans,

[m] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.

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that people would not be long before they joined their troops to thoſe of Lacedæmon. The republic ſent deputies into Sicily, who on their return made an unfaithful report of the ſtate of things. The expedition was reſolved on, and Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus were named for generals; and ſo certain did the Athenians deem themſelves of ſucceſs, that the ſenate previouſly regulated the fate of the different ſtates of Sicily.

The ſenſible part of the citizens however were the more alarmed at theſe proceedings, as they had hitherto no accurate idea of the extent, forces, and riches of that iſland[n]. Notwithſtanding the law which forbids the revocation of a decree paſſed by all the orders of the ſtate, Nicias remonſtrated with the aſſembly, that the republic, not having been able yet to terminate the differences which had ariſen between her and the Lacedæmonians, the ſubſiſting peace was no more than a ſuſpenſion of arms; that her true enemies were in Peloponneſus, who only

[n] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 1.

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waited the departure of the army to pour into Attica; that the quarrels of the Sicilian cities had no connection with the Athenians; that it was the height of extravagance to ſacrifice the ſafety of the ſtate to the vanity or the intereſt of a young man anxious to diſplay his magnificence in the ſight of the army; that ſuch citizens were formed only for the ruin of the ſtate, by ruining themſelves; and that it as ill became them to deliberate on ſuch weighty enterpriſes, as to carry them into execution [o].

"I behold with many fears," added Nicias, "that numerous band of youth who ſurround him, and whoſe ſuffrages he directs. Reſpectable old men, I ſolicit your voices, in the name of your country; and you, magiſtrates, call the people once more to the queſtion, and if the laws forbid it, reflect that the firſt of laws is the preſervation of the ſtate."

Alcibiades now addreſſed the aſſembly, and repreſented, that the Athenians, by pro-

[o] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 8.

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tecting oppreſſed nations, had attained their preſent height of glory and of power [P]; that it was no longer permitted them to abandon themſelves to a repoſe too capable of enervating the courage and ſpirit of their troops; that they would one day be ſubjected themſelves, if from the preſent moment they did not ſubject others; that many of the Sicilian cities were peopled only by barbarians or foreigners inſenſible to the honour of their country, and ever ready to change maſters; that others, weary of their diviſions, waited only the arrival of the fleet, to ſubmit to the Athenians; that the conqueſt of this iſland would facilitate that of all Greece; that on the ſlighteſt reverſe of fortune, they would find an aſylum in their ſhips; that the ſplendour of this expedition alone would aſtoniſh the Lacedæmonians; and that ſhould the latter hazard an irruption into Attica, it would ſucceed no better than the former.

As for the reproaches which perſonally regarded him, he anſwered, that his magni-

[P] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 18.

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ficence had hitherto ſerved only to inſpire the nations of Greece with a high idea of the power of the Athenians, and to procure a ſufficient degree of authority to himſelf, in order to detach whole nations from the Peloponneſian league. "Beſides," added he, "ſince I am to ſhare the command of the army with Nicias, if my youth and follies have given any alarm, you will take courage from the good fortune that has always crowned his undertakings [q]."

This harangue inſpired the Athenians with new ardour. Their firſt project was to ſend only ſixty galleys into Sicily. Nicias, indirectly to divert them from it, repreſented that, beſides the fleet, a land army would be neceſſary; and drew a terrifying picture of the preparations, expences, and number of troops ſuch an expedition would require; when a voice from the midſt of the aſſembly exclaimed: "Nicias, we have nothing more to do with all theſe ſubtleties; inform us explicitly what number of ſoldiers and ſhips you judge ac-

[q] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 17.

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tually neceſſary[r]." Nicias anſwering that he would conſult on the ſubject with the other generals, the aſſembly gave them full power to diſpoſe of all the forces of the republic.

The troops were ready to embark[s], when Alcibiades was accuſed of having, with ſome companions of his debaucheries, mutilated the ſtatues of Mercury which the inhabitants of Athens place before their houſes, and repreſented, at the concluſion of an entertainment, the ceremonies of the awful myſteries of Eleuſis. The people, who would have pardoned him every thing on any other occaſion, breathed nothing but rage and vengeance. Alcibiades, though at firſt terrified at the public indignation, ſoon found himſelf encouraged by the favourable diſpoſition of the fleet and army. He appeared before the aſſembly, and endeavoured to clear himſelf from the ſuſpicions raiſed againſt him, offering himſelf to death,

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[r] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 25.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 27. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 3.

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if he ſhould be found guilty, but demanding an exemplary ſatisfaction ſhould his innocence be proved. His enemies however procured his trial to be delayed till his return, and obliged him to depart under the weight of an accuſation which held the ſword ſuſpended over his head.

The general rendezvous, as well for the Athenians as their allies, was appointed at Corcyra[t]; from whence the fleet, conſiſting of three hundred ſail, took its departure, and proceeded to Rhegium, at the extremity of Italy*. It had on board five thouſand one hundred heavy armed ſoldiers, among whom were the choſen troops of the Athenians. To theſe were added four hundred and eighty archers, ſeven hundred ſlingers, ſome other light troops, and a ſmall body of cavalry.

The generals had required no greater forces; Nicias never thought of making himſelf maſter of Sicily; Alcibiades imagined that to ſubdue that iſland nothing

[t] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 42, 43, &c.
* The year 415 before Chriſt.

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more was neceſſary than to ſow diviſions. Each of theſe generals manifeſted his views in the firſt council they held before the opening of the campaign. Their inſtructions preſcribed to them, in general terms, to regulate the affairs of Sicily in the manner the moſt advantageous for the intereſts of the republic: their particular orders were to protect the Ægeſtians againſt the inhabitants of Selinus; and, if circumſtances would permit, to engage the Syracuſans to reſtore to the Leontines the poſſeſſions of which they had deprived them [u].

Nicias was for adhering to the letter of this decree, and intended, after putting it into execution, to carry back the fleet to the Piræus [x]. Alcibiades maintained that as it was undoubtedly neceſſary to ſignalize ſuch great efforts of the Athenians by ſome important enterpriſes, deputies ſhould be ſent to the principal cities of Sicily, to excite them againſt the Syracuſans, to procure troops and proviſions from them; and, by

[u] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 8.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 47.

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the effect of these various negociations, to determine whether to lay siege to Selinus or Syracuse. Lamachus, the third general, proposed to march instantly against the latter city, and take advantage of the panic into which the inhabitants had been thrown by the arrival of the Athenians[y]. The port of Megara, contiguous to Syracuse, would contain the fleet, and a victory could not fail to produce a revolution in Sicily.

The opinion of Lamachus would probably have been justified by success. The Syracusans had taken no precautions against the storm that menaced them; for they could with difficulty persuade themselves that the Athenians would be so mad as to attempt the conquest of such a city as Syracuse. "The people of Athens," exclaimed one of their orators, "should think themselves happy that we have never thought of bringing them under subjection to us[z]."

This project not being agreeable to the

[y] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 49.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 36.

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two other generals, Lamachus decided in favour of the opinion of Alcibiades. Whilſt the latter had taken Catana by ſurpriſe, and Naxos had opened her gates to him; whilſt his intrigues were on the point of forcing thoſe of Meſſana [a], and his hopes were beginning to be realiſed [b]; a galley ſailed from the Piræus with an order for his immediate return to Athens. His enemies had prevailed, and ſummoned him to appear to anſwer the accuſation, of which they had hitherto ſuſpended the proſecution. They did not dare to arreſt him, for fear of an inſurrection of the ſoldiers, and the deſertion of the allied troops, who, in general, had come into Sicily only at his requeſt [c]. He had at firſt determined to ſtand his trial, and confound his accuſers; but when he arrived at Thurium, reflecting on the injuſtice of the Athenians, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, and retired into Peloponneſus [d].

[a] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 51. Plut. in Alcib. p. 202.
[b] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 4.
[c] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 61. Plut. ibid. p. 200.
[d] Plut. ibid. p. 202.

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His departure ſpread diſcouragement through the army. Nicias, who feared nothing when it was neceſſary to execute, and every thing when an enterpriſe was to be planned, ſuffered the ardour which Alcibiades had excited among the ſoldiers to ſubſide in inactivity or eaſy conqueſts. Yet he ſaw the moment when an enterpriſe, the conſequences of which he had always dreaded, was on the point of being crowned with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. He had at length determined to lay ſiege to Syracuſe, and conducted his attacks with ſo much ability, that the inhabitants were inclined to ſurrender. Already ſeveral ſtates of Sicily and Italy had declared in his favour, when a Lacedæmonian general named Gylippus entered the beſieged city, with a few troops which he had brought from Peloponneſus, or collected in Sicily. Nicias might have prevented him from landing in the iſland, but loſt the opportunity [e]; an irreparable fault, which proved the ſource of all his misfortunes. Gylippus revived the

[e] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 104.

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courage of the Syracuſans, defeated the Athenians, and held them blocked up in their entrenchments. Athens ſent to Sicily another fleet, conſiſting of about ſeventy-three galleys, under the command of Demoſthenes and Eurymedon, and a ſecond army of five thouſand men heavily armed, and ſome light troops [f].

Demoſthenes having loſt two thouſand men at the attack of an important poſt, and conſidering that the ſea would ſoon be no longer navigable, and that the troops were waſting away by diſorders, propoſed to abandon the enterpriſe, or tranſport the army to ſome healthier ſituation [g]. When they were on the point of ſetting ſail, Nicias, terrified at an eclipſe of the moon, which ſpread conſternation through the camp, conſulted the augurs, who directed him to wait twenty-ſeven days longer [h].

Before the expiration of this time, the Athenians, vanquiſhed by ſea and land, no

[f] Thucyd. lib. 7, cap. 42.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 47 et 49. Juſtin. lib. 4, cap. 5.
[h] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 50.

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longer able to remain under the walls of Syracuſe for want of proviſions, nor to eſcape out of the harbour, the mouth of which was ſhut up by the Syracuſans, took the reſolution to abandon their camp, their ſick, and their ſhips, and retire by land into ſome town of Sicily. They began their march, to the number of forty thouſand men [i], including not only the troops furniſhed them by the ſtates of Italy and Sicily, but the crews of the galleys, the workmen, and ſlaves.

In the mean time, the Syracuſans took poſſeſſion of the defiles of the mountains, and the fords of the rivers; they broke down the bridges, ſeized on the heights, and diſperſed various detachments of cavalry and light troops over the plain. The Athenians, haraſſed and impeded at every ſtep, found themſelves perpetually expoſed on every ſide to the weapons of an enemy whom they were no where able to attack. In this diſtreſs they were animated to perſevere by the example of their generals,

[i] Thucyd. lib. 7, cap. 75.

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and the exhortations of Nicias, who, notwithſtanding the debility to which he was reduced by a long illneſs, diſplayed a courage ſuperior to danger. For eight whole days they had to ſtruggle againſt new obſtacles continually increaſing. But Demoſthenes, who commanded the rear-guard, compoſed of ſix thouſand men, loſing his way in his march, was puſhed into a confined place, and after prodigies of valour, obliged to ſurrender, on condition that his ſoldiers ſhould have their lives granted them, and be ſpared the horrors of a dungeon [k].

Nicias having failed in a negociation he had entered into, conducted the remainder of his army as far as the river Aſinarus [l]. On his arrival there the greater part of the ſoldiers, tormented by a burning thirſt, ruſhed in confuſion into the river, while others were driven into it by the enemy. Such as attempted to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, found on the oppoſite ſhore ſteep banks lined with dartmen, who made

[k] Thucyd. lib. 7, cap. 82.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 84.

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a terrible ſlaughter of them. Eight thouſand men periſhed in this attack[m]; till at length Nicias thus addreſſed Gylippus: "Diſpoſe of me as you ſhall think proper: but ſhew mercy at leaſt to theſe unhappy ſoldiers." Gylippus immediately put an end to the carnage. The Syracuſans returned to their city, bringing back with them ſeven thouſand priſoners[n], who were thrown into the quarries, where, for many months, they experienced inconceivable miſeries. Numbers of them periſhed there, and others were ſold as ſlaves.

A ſtill greater number of priſoners became the prize of the officers and ſoldiers; and all ended their days in chains, except a few of the Athenians, who owed their liberty to the tragedies of Euripides, then ſcarcely known in Sicily, being generouſly rewarded with freedom by their maſters, for reciting to them the moſt beautiful paſſages of that poet[o]. Nicias and Demoſthenes were put

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 148.
[n] Thucyd. lib. 7, cap. 87.
[o] Plut. in Nic. p. 542.

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to death, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of Gylippus to ſave their lives [p].

Athens, depreſſed by ſo unexpected a reverſe of fortune, foreboded ſtill greater calamities. Her allies were ready to ſhake off the yoke; the other ſtates of Greece were conſpiring her ruin [q]; the Peloponneſians already thought themſelves juſtified by her example in breaking the truce [r]. Already ſhe diſcovered in their operations, more ſkilfully planned and conducted, the ſpirit of vengeance, and the ſuperior genius by which they were directed. Alcibiades enjoyed at Lacedæmon that reſpect and influence he every where obtained. It was by his advice that the Lacedæmonians adopted the reſolution of ſending ſuccours to the Syracuſans, renewing their inroads into Attica, and fortifying, at the diſtance of one hundred and twenty ſtadia from Athens, the poſt of Decelia, which held that city blocked on the land ſide [s].

[p] Thucyd. lib. 7, cap. 86.
[q] Id. lib. 8, cap. 2.
[r] Id. lib. 7, cap. 19.
[s] Id. lib. 6, cap. 91. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 4.

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To annihilate the power of Athens it was neceſſary to favour the revolt of her allies, and deſtroy her navy. Alcibiades repaired to the coaſts of Aſia Minor; and Chios, Miletus, and other flouriſhing cities, declared for the Lacedæmonians [t]. By his accompliſhments he captivated Tiſſaphernes, the governor of Sardes [u]; and the king of Perſia engaged to pay the fleet of Peloponneſus [x].

This ſecond war, conducted with more regularity than the former, would quickly have been terminated, had not Alcibiades, purſued by Agis, king of Lacedæmon, whoſe wife he had ſeduced, and by the other chiefs of the league, who took umbrage at his glory, at length conſidered that, after revenging himſelf on his country, it now only remained for him to protect it from inevitable ruin [y]. With this view, he contrived to ſuſpend the operations of Tiſſaphernes, and the departure of the Perſian

[t] Thucyd. lib. 8, cap. 12 et 17.
[u] Plut. in Alcib. p. 204.
[x] Thucyd. lib. 8, cap. 5. Juſtin. lib. 5, cap. 2.
[y] Plut. in Alcib. p. 204.

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ſuccours, under the pretext that it was the intereſt of the great king to ſuffer the nations of Greece mutually to enfeeble each other [z].

The Athenians having ſoon after revoked the decree for his baniſhment, he puts himſelf at their head, reduces the ſtrong holds of the Helleſpont [a], forces one of the Perſian governors to ſign an advantageous treaty with the Athenians [b], and the Lacedæmonians to ſue for peace [c]. Their demand was rejected, for, deeming themſelves invincible henceforward under Alcibiades, the Athenians made a rapid tranſition from the moſt profound conſternation to the moſt inſolent preſumption. The hatred with which they were animated againſt that general was as quickly ſucceeded by the moſt extravagant gratitude, and the moſt unbounded affection.

When he returned to his country, his arrival, his ſtay, the pains he took to juſtify

[z] Juſtin. lib. 5, cap. 2.
[a] Plut. in Alcib. p. 206.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 208.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 177.

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his conduct, were a ſeries of triumphs for himſelf, and of public rejoicings for the multitude [d]. When, amidſt the acclamations of the whole city, they ſaw him ſail from the Piræus with a fleet of a hundred ſhips, no doubt was entertained but that his rapid victories would ſoon force the inhabitants of the Peloponneſus to ſubmit to the law of the conqueror; the arrival of a courier was every moment expected with the news of the deſtruction of the enemy, and the conqueſt of Ionia [e].

In the midſt of theſe flattering expectations, they learnt that fifteen of the Athenian galleys had fallen into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. The engagement took place during the abſence, and in contempt of the preciſe orders, of Alcibiades, who had been obliged to paſs into Ionia to levy contributions for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. On the firſt intelligence of this check he inſtantly returned, and offered battle to the

[d] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 6. Plut. p. 209. Juſtin. lib. 5, cap. 4.
[e] Plut. ibid. p. 211.

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victor, who did not venture to accept it [f]. He had retrieved the honour of Athens; the loſs was trifling, but it ſufficed for the jealouſy of his enemies. They exaſperated the people, who ſtripped him of the general command of the armies with as much precipitation as they had manifeſted in inveſting him with that dignity.

The war was ſtill continued for ſome years, always by ſea, and terminated by the battle of Ægos-Potamos, gained by the Peloponneſians in the ſtraits of the Helleſpont. Lyſander, the Lacedæmonian who commanded them [g], ſurpriſed the Athenian fleet of one hundred and eighty ſail, and made himſelf maſter of it with three thouſand priſoners *.

Alcibiades, who ſince his retreat had ſettled in the adjacent county, warned the Athenian generals of the danger of their ſituation, and of the want of diſcipline

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[f] Plut. in Alcib. p. 211. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 442.

[g] Xenoph. lib. 2, p. 455 et 457. Plut. in Lyſandr. p. 440.

* The year 405 before Chriſt.

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among their ſoldiers and ſeamen: but they deſpiſed the counſels of a man fallen into diſgrace [h].

The loſs of the battle brought on that of Athens, which ſurrendered for want of proviſions, after a few months ſiege *. Several of the allied powers propoſed to deſtroy the city; but Lacedæmon, attentive to her glory rather than her intereſt, refuſed to impoſe chains on a nation which had rendered ſuch eminent ſervices to Greece [i]: ſhe however condemned the Athenians not only to demoliſh the fortifications of the Piræus, as well as the long wall that joins the harbour to the city, but to deliver up all their galleys except twelve; to recall their exiles; to withdraw their garriſons from the cities they had taken; to form an offenſive and defenſive league with the Lacedæmonians, and to follow them by ſea

[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 456. Plut. in Alcib. p. 212. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 8.

* Towards the end of April of the year 404 before Chriſt.

[i] Xenoph. ibid. p. 460. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 399. Andoc. de Pace, p. 26.

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and land whenever they ſhould receive orders [k].

The walls were thrown down to the ſound of inſtruments, as if Greece had recovered her liberty [l]; and ſome months after, the victors permitted the people to elect thirty magiſtrates, who were to eſtabliſh another form of government, and concluded by uſurping the ſovereign authority [m] *.

They firſt exerted their power to put to death a multitude of ſlanderous informers, odious to all honeſt men; next to deſtroy the enemies of their uſurpation; and ſoon after to murder all thoſe whoſe riches they wiſhed to ſeize. Some Lacedæmonian troops granted them by Lyſander, and three thouſand citizens they had aſſociated with them to ſupport their authority, openly defended theſe acts of injuſtice [n]. The nation, diſ-

[k] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 460. Diod. Sic. lib. 3, p. 226.

[l] Xenoph. ibid. Plut. in Lyſandr. p. 441.

[m] Lyſ. in Eratoſth. p. 192. Xenoph. ibid. p. 461. Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 236.

* Towards the ſummer of the year 404 before Chriſt.

[n] Lyſ. ibid. p. 227. Xenoph. ibid. p. 463.

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armed, ſuddenly fell into a ſtate of extreme ſervitude. Exile, impriſonment, and death were the lot of all who declared againſt the tyranny, or ſeemed to condemn it by their ſilence. It continued but eight months [o]; and in this ſhort interval upwards of fifteen hundred citizens were cruelly maſſacred and deprived of funeral honours [p]. The greater part abandoned a city where neither the victims nor the witneſſes of oppreſſion dared to murmur a complaint: for the ſufferer was required to be mute, and the compaſſionate to conceal his pity.

Socrates alone did not permit himſelf to be ſhaken by the iniquity of the times; he ventured to conſole the unfortunate, and reſiſt the orders of the tyrants [q]. But it was not his virtue that alarmed them; they dreaded with more reaſon the genius of Alcibiades, on whoſe meaſures they kept a ſtrict eye.

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[o] Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. iii. p. 264.

[p] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 345. Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 782. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 466.

[q] Xenoph. Memor. p. 716. Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 237. Senec. de Tranquill. Anim. cap. 3.

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He was then in a ſmall town of Phrygia, under the government of Pharnabazus, from whom he received every mark of diſtinction and friendſhip. Informed of the levies the younger Cyrus was making in Aſia Minor, he concluded that this prince meditated an expedition againſt his brother Artaxerxes, and determined to repair to the court of the king of Perſia, to appriſe him of the danger, and to obtain ſuccours for the deliverance of his country; but aſſaſſins ſent by the ſatrap ſuddenly ſurrounded his houſe, and, wanting the courage to attack him, ſet fire to it. Alcibiades ruſhed forth ſword in hand through the flames, repulſed the barbarians, and fell beneath a ſhower of darts[r]. He was then forty years of age. His death fixes a ſtain on Lacedæmon, if it be true that the magiſtrates, partaking of the fears of the Athenian tyrants, engaged Pharnabazus to perpetrate this atrocious murder. But others aſſert that it originated entirely with him-

[r] Plut. in Alcib. p. 212 et 213. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 10.

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ſelf, and that he was only actuated by private motives [s].

The glory of ſaving Athens was reſerved to Thraſybulus. That generous citizen, whoſe merit had placed him at the head of thoſe who had fled from their country, and who had been deaf to all the propoſals made him by the tyrants to partake of their power, gained poſſeſſion of the Piræus, and ſummoned the people to liberty [t]. Some of the tyrants periſhed in arms; others were condemned to death. A general amneſty reconciled the two parties, and reſtored tranquillity to Athens [u].

Some years after that city ſhook off the yoke of Lacedæmon, re-eſtabliſhed the democracy, and entered into the treaty of peace concluded by the Spartan Antalcidas with Artaxerxes *. By this treaty, which circumſtances rendered neceſſary, the Greek colonies of Aſia Minor, and ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, were given up to Per-

[s] Ephor. ap. Diod. lib. 14, p. 242.
[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 472.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 479.
* The year 387 before Chriſt.

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ſia; the other nations of Greece regained their laws and independence [x], but remained in a ſtate of weakneſs, from which perhaps they never will recover. Thus were the differences terminated which had occaſioned the Median war and that of Peloponneſus.

The hiſtorical eſſay I have here given concludes with the taking of Athens. In the relation of my travels, I ſhall inſert an account of the principal events that have occurred ſubſequent to that period, and to the time of my return into Scythia: I ſhall now proceed to hazard a few remarks on the age of Pericles.

At the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, the Athenians muſt have been greatly ſurpriſed to find themſelves ſo different from their anceſtors. A few years had ſufficed to deſtroy the authority of all the laws, inſtitutions, maxims, and examples accumulated by preceding ages for the conſervation of manners. Never was there a more

[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 549. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 368. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 608. Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 319.

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dreadful proof, that great ſucceſſes are as dangerous for the victors as the vanquiſhed.

I have already indicated the fatal effects produced on the Athenians by their conqueſts, and the flouriſhing ſtate of their navy and their commerce. We have ſeen them rapidly extending the dominions of the republic, and tranſporting into her boſom the ſpoils of the allied and ſubjugated nations: hence the ſucceſſive progreſs of a ruinous luxury, and the inſatiable thirſt for feſtivals and ſpectacles. As the government abandoned itſelf to the delirium of a pride that imagined every thing warrantable, becauſe there was nothing it dared not to attempt, individuals, from its example, ſhook off every ſpecies of conſtraint enjoined either by nature or ſociety.

Merit ſoon could only obtain eſteem; reſpect was reſerved for power and influence: all the paſſions were directed towards perſonal intereſt, and all the ſources of corruption ſpread themſelves with profuſion over the ſtate. Love, which heretofore had concealed itſelf under the veils of Hy-

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men and of modeſty, flamed openly with illegitimate fires. Courteſans multiplied in Attica, and throughout all Greece [y]. Some of theſe women came from Ionia, from that beautiful climate where the art of voluptuouſneſs took birth. Some attached to their perſons a multiplicity of admirers, all of whom they loved without a preference, and who all loved them without rivalry; others, confining themſelves to a ſingle conqueſt [z], by an appearance of propriety, ſucceeded in attracting reſpect and commendation from that eaſy public, which imputed to them as a merit this fidelity to their engagements.

Pericles, a witneſs to the abuſe, did not attempt to correct it. The more ſevere he was in his own manners, the more attentive was he to corrupt thoſe of the Athenians, which he relaxed by a rapid ſucceſſion of feſtivals and games [a].

The celebrated Aſpaſia, a native of Mi-

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y Athen. lib. 13, p. 569.
z Terent. in Heautontim. act. 2, ſcen. 3.
a Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 158.

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letus in Ionia, ſeconded the views of Pericles, whoſe miſtreſs and ſpouſe ſhe was ſucceſſively. She had obtained ſuch an aſcendancy over him, that he was accuſed of having more than once engaged his country in war to avenge her perſonal quarrels [b]. She had the boldneſs to form a ſociety of courteſans, whoſe charms and favours were employed to attach the young Athenians [c] to her intereſts. A few years before the whole city would have revolted at the idea of ſuch a project; but now, when carried into execution, it only excited ſome feeble murmurs: the comic poets freely ſatirized Aſpaſia [d], but this did not hinder her houſe from being frequented by the beſt company of Athens.

Pericles authorized this licentiouſneſs; Aſpaſia extended it; and Alcibiades rendered it amiable: his life was an example of every ſpecies of diſſolute manners; but

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[b] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. act. 2, ſcen. 5, v. 527. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165 et 168.

[c] Plut. ibid. p. 165.

[d] Cratin. Eupol. ap. Plut. ibid.

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his vices were all accompanied with ſo many ſplendid qualities, and ſo often mingled with noble actions, that public cenſure knew not on what to faſten [e]. Beſides, how was it poſſible to reſiſt the charm of a poiſon which the Graces themſelves ſeemed to diſtribute? or to condemn a man who poſſeſſed every requiſite to pleaſe, or to ſeduce; who was the firſt to condemn himſelf; who repaired the ſlighteſt offences by ſuch conciliating attentions, and who ſeemed leſs to commit faults than to fall into them through negligence? The public were therefore led to rank them among thoſe amuſements, or thoſe errors, which diſappear with the fire of youth [f]; and, as indulgence for vice is always a conſpiracy againſt virtue, it happened that, excepting a ſmall number of citizens inflexibly attached to ancient maxims [g], the nation, hurried away by the graces of Alcibiades, became the accomplices of his exceſſes, and concluded by defending what they had begun by excuſing.

[e] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 198.

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The young Athenians fixed their eyes on this dangerous model; and, unable to imitate its beauties, thought to approach it by copying, and especially by overcharging its defects. They became frivolous because he was giddy, insolent because he was bold, regardless of the laws because he paid no respect to propriety of manners. Some not so wealthy, but equally prodigal with himself, displayed a luxury that rendered them ridiculous [h], and drew down ruin on their families: the disorders they transmitted to their descendants, and the baneful influence of the example of Alcibiades, subsisted long after his death.

A judicious historian observes [i], that war modifies the manners of a people, and sours them in proportion to their sufferings. That of Peloponnesus was so long, and the Athenians experienced so many reverses of fortune, as to occasion a remarkable alteration in their character. Their vengeance was not satisfied, unless it exceeded the offence.

[h] Aristoph. in Nub. scen. 1.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 82.

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More than once they iſſued decrees which condemned to death the inhabitants of the iſlands who had forſaken their alliance [k]; their generals more than once inflicted dreadful tortures on the priſoners who fell into their hands [l]. They now therefore no longer remembered that ancient inſtitution, by which the Greeks were accuſtomed to celebrate with ſongs of joy the victories gained over the barbarians; but to recount with tears and lamentations the advantages they had obtained over the other Greeks [m].

The author I have quoted further obſerves, that, in the courſe of this fatal war, ſuch a general ſubverſion of ideas and principles took place, that the words moſt in uſe entirely changed their meaning: good faith was called ſimplicity and credulity; duplicity, addreſs; and prudence and moderation, feebleneſs and puſillanimity; while audacity and violence were conſidered as the ſallies of a ſtrong mind, and an ardent zeal in the

[k] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 36.
[l] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 457. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 166.
[m] Iſocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 205.

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common cauſe [n]. Such a confuſion in language is perhaps one of the moſt dreadful ſymptoms of the depravity of a people. In other times, attacks are made on virtue; yet to aſſign limits to her is ſtill to acknowledge her authority: but when a ſociety proceeds to diveſt her even of her name, her claims are at an end; vice uſurps the ſceptre, and maintains herſelf undiſturbed on the throne.

Thoſe bloody wars in which the Greeks had been engaged extinguiſhed a great number of families accuſtomed, for many ages, to conſider their own glory as inſeparable from the glory of their country [o]. The foreigners and new men who ſupplied their places made the balance of power ſuddenly incline in favour of the people [p]. The following example will ſhew to what exceſs they now ventured to carry their inſolence. Towards the end of the Peloponneſian war, a player on the lyre, formerly

[n] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 82.
[o] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 404.
[p] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 3, t. ii. p. 389.

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a ſlave, ſince become a citizen by his intrigues, and adored by the multitude for his liberality, was ſeen to come into the general aſſembly armed with an axe, and threaten with impunity to cleave the ſkull of the firſt man who ſhould give his vote for peace [q]. A few years after Athens was taken by the Lacedæmonians, and in a ſhort time again ſunk under the arms of the king of Macedon.

Such was the deſtiny of a ſtate founded upon manners. Philoſophers, who aſcend to the cauſes of great events, have ſaid that every age bears, in ſome manner, within itſelf the age that is to follow. This bold metaphor contains an important truth, confirmed by the hiſtory of Athens. The age of laws and virtue prepared that of valour and of glory; the latter produced that of conqueſts and of luxury, which terminated in the deſtruction of the republic.

At preſent let us turn our eyes from theſe afflicting ſcenes, and fix them on more agreeable and more intereſting objects,

[q] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 407.

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Towards the end of the Peloponnesian war Nature redoubled her efforts, and on a sudden gave birth to a number of men of genius in every branch of knowledge. Of these Athens produced several, and saw a still greater number resort to her to court the honour of her approbation and esteem.

Without mentioning a Gorgias, a Parmenides, a Protagoras, and many other eloquent sophists, who by disseminating their doubts multiplied ideas, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, shone on the stage, surrounded by rivals who shared in their glory. The astronomer Meton calculated the motions of the heavens, and fixed the limits of the year; the orators Antiphon, Andocides, and Lysias, distinguished themselves in the different species of eloquence; Thucydides, excited to emulation by the applauses bestowed on Herodotus, while he read his history to the Athenians, was labouring to merit a similar reward; Socrates transmitted a sublime doctrine to his disciples, several of whom have founded schools; able generals ensured victory to

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the arms of the republic; the moſt magnificent edifices were erected after the deſigns of the moſt able architects; the pencils of Polygnotus, Parrhaſius, and Zeuxis, and the chiſels of Phidias and Alcamenes, were exerted with emulation to decorate the temples, the porticos, and public places. All theſe great men, as alſo all thoſe who flouriſhed in other parts of Greece, were preparing to re-exiſt in pupils worthy to ſucceed them; and it was eaſy to foreſee that the moſt corrupted would ſoon become the moſt enlightened of ages.

Thus, whilſt the reſpective ſtates of this country were menaced with loſing the empire both of the ſea and land, a peaceful claſs of citizens were labouring to ſecure to it for ever the empire of the mind: they erected in honour of their nation a temple, the foundations of which had been laid in the preceding century, and was to reſiſt the ravages of centuries to come. The ſciences every day acquired ſtrength by new diſcoveries, and the arts by their continued progreſs. Poetry did not increaſe

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her ſplendour; but retaining it, employed her powers to embelliſh tragedy and comedy, which were at once carried to their higheſt perfection. Hiſtory, ſubjected to the laws of true criticiſm, rejected the marvellous, diſcuſſed facts[r], and became an inſtructive leſſon, which paſt times tranſmitted to ſucceeding ages. In proportion as the edifice aroſe, barren waſtes were diſcovered at a diſtance, and others which waited only for more ſkilful cultivation. The rules of logic and of rhetoric, the abſtractions of metaphyſics, and the maxims of morality, were explained in works which to regularity of plan united preciſion of ideas and elegance of ſtyle.

Greece partly owed theſe advantages to the influence of philoſophy, which aroſe out of obſcurity after the victories gained over the Perſians. Zeno appeared, and the Athenians exerciſed themſelves in the ſubtleties of the Elean ſchool. Anaxagoras brought them acquainted with the knowledge and diſcoveries of Thales; and ſome of them

[r] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 20 et 21.

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were perſuaded that eclipſes, monſters, and the diverſified ſports of nature, ſhould no longer be enumerated in the liſt of prodigies: but this they were obliged to communicate in confidence[s]; for the people, accuſtomed to conſider certain phænomena as warnings from Heaven, proceeded againſt thoſe philoſophers who wiſhed to reclaim them from this ſuperſtition. Perſecuted and baniſhed, they learnt that the truth, to gain admiſſion amongſt men, muſt not preſent herſelf unveiled, but be clandeſtinely introduced in the retinue of error.

The arts, finding no popular prejudices to combat, met not with ſimilar reſtraints. The temple of Jupiter, begun under Piſiſtratus; and that of Theſeus, conſtructed under Cimon; furniſhed the architect with models: but the pictures and ſtatues then ſubſiſting preſented the painter and the ſculptor only with eſſays, which their genius muſt mature into perfection.

Some years before the Peloponneſian war, Panænus, the brother of Phidias,

[s] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 154. Id. in Nic. p. 538.

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painted the battle of Marathon in one of the porticos of Athens; and the surprise of the spectators was extreme, when they perceived they could discover in these pictures the chiefs of the two armies[t]. He surpassed those who had preceded him, and almost at the very instant was surpassed by Polygnotus of Thasos, Apollodorus of Athens, Zeuxis of Heraclea, and Parrhasius of Ephesus. Polygnotus was the first who varied the expressions of the countenance, and deviated from the dry and servile manner of his predecessors[u]; he was likewise the first who embellished his female figures, and clothed them with light and elegant drapery. His portraits bear the impression of moral beauty, the idea of which was deeply engraven in his soul[x]. He should not be censured for not sufficiently diversifying the tone of his colours[y]: it was the fault of

[t] Plin. lib. 35, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 690. Pausan. lib. 5, cap. 11, p. 402.

[u] Plin. ibid. cap. 9. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxv. p. 194 et 271.

[x] Arist. de Rep. lib. 8, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 455. Id. de Poet. cap. 2, t. ii. p. 653.

[y] Quintil. lib. 12, cap. 10, p. 743.

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the art, which, if we may uſe the expreſſion, was then but newly born.

Apollodorus, in this branch of his art, poſſeſſed the reſources in which Polygnotus was deficient: he produced a happy mixture of light and ſhade. Zeuxis immediately improved on this diſcovery; and Apollodorus, deſirous of authenticating his glory, exalted that of his rival. In a poem written by him he ſays: "I had diſcovered, for the diſtribution of ſhades, ſecrets unknown until our days; they have been wreſted from me: the art is in the hands of Zeuxis [z]."

The latter ſtudied nature [a] with the ſame attention that he beſtowed on finiſhing his productions [b]; theſe are reſplendent with beauties. In his picture of Penelope he ſeems to have painted the manners and character of that princeſs [c]; but in general he has been leſs

[z] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346. Plin. lib. 35, cap. 9, p. 691. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xxv. p. 195.
[a] Cicer. de Invent. lib. 2, cap. 1, t. i. p. 75. Dionyſ. Halicar. Vet. Script. Cenſ. cap. 1, t. v. p. 417. Plin. ibid.
[b] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 159.
[c] Plin. ibid.

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ſucceſsful in this particular than Polygnotus [d].

Zeuxis accelerated the progreſs of the art by the beauty of his colouring; Parrhaſius his rival, by the purity and correctneſs of deſign [e], for he was acquainted with the ſcience of proportions. Thoſe he gave his gods and heroes appeared ſo happy, that artiſts did not heſitate to adopt them, and decreed him the name of legiſlator [f]. He had other titles to their admiration. He ſhewed them, for the firſt time, expreſſive airs of heads, mouths embelliſhed by the graces, and hair portrayed with delicacy [g].

To theſe two artiſts ſucceeded Timanthes, whoſe works, giving us to underſtand more than they expreſs, diſcover the great artiſt, and ſtill more the man of wit [h]; Pamphilus, who acquired ſuch a degree of authority by his merit, as to procure ſchools for

[d] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 6, t. ii. p. 657.
[e] Quintil. lib. 12, cap. 10, p. 744. Plin. lib. 35, cap. 9, p. 691.
[f] Quintil. ibid.
[g] Plin. ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xix. p. 266; t. xxv. p. 163.
[h] Plin. ibid. p. 694.

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drawing, from which ſlaves were excluded, to be eſtabliſhed in ſeveral of the Grecian cities [i]; Euphranor, who, ever equal to himſelf, excelled in all the branches of painting [k]. I have known ſome of theſe artiſts, and have ſince learnt, that a pupil whom I have ſeen with Pamphilus, named Apelles, has ſurpaſſed them all.

The progreſs and improvement of ſculpture was not inferior to that of painting. To prove this, it is only neceſſary to repeat the names of Phidias, Polycletus, Alcamenes, Scopas, and Praxiteles. The firſt lived in the time of Pericles. I was acquainted with the latter. Thus, in leſs than the ſpace of a ſingle century, has this art attained ſuch a degree of excellence, that the ancient ſculptors would at this day be obliged to bluſh for their productions and their celebrity [l].

If to theſe different generations of talents we add thoſe which preceded them, aſcending from Pericles to the time of Thales, the

[i] Plin. lib. 35, cap. 9, p. 694.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 11, p. 703.
[l] Plat. in Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282.

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moſt ancient of the Grecian philoſophers, we ſhall find that the human mind has acquired more in the interval of about two hundred years than in the long ſucceſſion of preceding ages. What powerful hand was it that ſuddenly impreſſed on it, and ſtill preſerves, even to our days, a motion at once ſo rapid and ſo productive?

I imagine that from time to time, perhaps even in every generation, Nature ſcatters over the earth a certain portion of talents, which remain buried when nothing contributes to develop them, and awaken as from a profound ſleep when one amongſt them accidentally opens a new path to fame. Thoſe who ruſh into it firſt, divide among them, if I may ſo ſpeak, the provinces of this new empire: theſe their ſucceſſors have the merit of cultivating and giving law to. But there are limits to the diſcoveries of the mind, as there are to the enterpriſes of conquerors and navigators. The greateſt diſcoveries immortalize thoſe who have made, and thoſe who have improved them; till at length men of genius, no longer poſ-

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ſeſſing the ſame reſources, ceaſe to meet with the ſame ſucceſs, and are almoſt reduced to a level with the claſs of ordinary men.

To this general cauſe ſeveral partial ones muſt be added. At the commencement of the great revolution of which I ſpeak, the philoſopher Pherecydes of Scyros, and the hiſtorians Cadmus and Hecatæus of Miletus, introduced into their writings the uſe of proſe[m], better calculated than poetry for the communication of ideas. Towards the ſame period Thales, Pythagoras, and other Greeks, brought from Egypt and the countries of the Eaſt various kinds of ſcience, which they taught to their diſciples. Whilſt theſe were ſilently taking root in the ſchools inſtituted in Sicily, Italy, and on the coaſts of Aſia, every thing conſpired to the birth and rapid improvement of the arts.

Such as depend on the imagination, are more eſpecially deſtined among the Greeks to the embelliſhment of their feſtivals and temples; they are employed likewiſe to

[m] Plin. lib. 5, cap. 29, t. i. p. 278; lib. 7, p. 417. Strab. lib. 1, p. 18. Suid. in Pherecyd.

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celebrate the heroic acts of nations, and the names of the victors in the ſolemn games of Greece. Diſpenſers of the glory they partake, the Greeks found, after the Perſian war, more occaſions than formerly to exerciſe theſe ſublime arts.

Greece, after enjoying for ſome time a proſperity that increaſed her power [n], fell into a ſtate of diſſenſion which gave a ſurpriſing degree of activity to every mind. She beheld wars and victories, riches and luxury, artiſts and monuments, multiply at once within her boſom: the feſtivals became more ſplendid, public ſpectacles more common; the temples were covered with paintings, and the environs of Delphi and Olympia with ſtatues. On the ſmalleſt ſucceſs piety, or rather national vanity, paid a tribute to induſtry, excited likewiſe by an inſtitution which turned to the advantage of the arts. Was a public ſquare or edifice to be decorated; ſeveral artiſts treated the ſame ſubject: they exhibited their performances or their plans, and the preference was given to

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 72.

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him who united the greateſt number of public ſuffrages in his favour [o]. More ſolemn competitions were inſtituted in favour of painting and muſic, at Delphi, Corinth, Athens, and other places. The Grecian cities which had known only the rivalry of arms, now became acquainted with that of talents: the greater part of them aſſumed a new appearance, after the example of Athens, which ſurpaſſed them all in magnificence.

Pericles, wiſhing to give employment to a people [p] formidable to their chiefs in the inactivity of peace, reſolved to dedicate to the embelliſhment of the city a great part of the contributions furniſhed by the allies to ſupport the Perſian war, and which had been hitherto kept in reſerve in the citadel. He repreſented that, by throwing this wealth into circulation, it would procure to the nation an abundance for the preſent moment, and immortal glory in futurity [q]. The

[o] Plin. lib. 36, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 725.
[p] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 158.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 159.

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ſhops of artiſts and the public places were inſtantly filled with an infinite number of labourers and mechanics, whoſe exertions were directed by intelligent maſters, after the deſigns of Phidias. Theſe works, which a great empire would ſcarcely have ventured to undertake, and which ſeemed to require a long ſpace of time for their execution, were completed by a little republic, in a very few years, under the adminiſtration of a ſingle man, without either ſuffering in their elegance or ſolidity by ſuch aſtoniſhing diligence. They coſt about three thouſand talents[r] *.

While theſe works were carrying on, Pericles was reproached by his enemies with diſſipating the money of the ſtate, "Are you of opinion," ſaid he one day to the general aſſembly, "that the expence is too great?" "Far too great," anſwered ſome perſon. "Well then," replied he, "I will take it entirely on myſelf, and inſcribe my name on theſe edifices." "No, no," ex-

[r] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 13.
* See note VIII. at the end of the volume.

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claimed the people, " let them be erected at the expence of the treaſury; and ſpare nothing for their completion [s]."

A taſte for the arts began to introduce itſelf among a ſmall number of citizens; that for paintings and ſtatues among the rich. The dazzled multitude judge of the power of a ſtate by its magnificence; hence that reſpect for artiſts who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a happy boldneſs. Some laboured gratuitouſly for the republic, and had honours decreed them [t]; others there were who enriched themſelves either by teaching pupils [u], or exacting a tribute from thoſe who came to their workſhops to admire their maſterly productions [x]. Several of them, elated with the general approbation, found a ſtill more flattering recompence in the conſciouſneſs of their ſuperiority, and in the homage they themſelves rendered to their abilities; nor did they bluſh to inſcribe

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[s] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.
Plin. lib. 35, cap. 9, p. 691. Suid. et Harpocr. in Polygn.
[u] Plin. ibid. p. 694.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4, cap. 12.

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on their pictures, "It will be easier to criticise than to imitate[y]." Zeuxis acquired such great wealth, that towards the end of his life he made presents of his paintings, affirming that nobody was rich enough to pay their value[z]. Parrhasius had such an exalted opinion of himself as to lay claim to a divine origin[a]. To the intoxication of their pride was added that of the public admiration.

Though letters were cultivated more early, and with greater success than the arts, it may be asserted that, excepting poetry, they received less encouragement from the Greeks. Eloquence and history were held in great estimation, because the former was necessary to the discussion of their interests, and the latter to the gratification of their vanity; but the other branches of literature owe their improvement rather to the vigour of the soil, than to any protection of the government. In several cities we find

[y] Plin. lib. 35, cap. 9, p. 691. Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346.
[z] Plin. ibid.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 694.

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ſchools for the athletæ maintained at the public expence; but no where any permanent inſtitutions for the exerciſes of the mind. It is but lately that the ſtudy of arithmetic and geometry have conſtituted a part of education, and that the doctrines of natural philoſophy have ceaſed to be an object of averſion and alarm. Under Pericles, philoſophical reſearches were rigorouſly proſcribed by the Athenians [b]; and, whilſt ſoothſayers frequently received an honourable public maintenance in the prytaneum [c], the philoſophers ſcarcely ventured to confide their opinions to their moſt faithful diſciples; nor were they more favourably received among other nations. Every where the objects of hatred or contempt, they eſcaped from the fury of fanaticiſm only by holding truth in captivity, and from the virulence of envy by a voluntary or conſtrained poverty. Though more tolerated at preſent, they are ſtill ſo cloſely watched, that on the ſmalleſt offence philo-

[b] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 169.
[c] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 338.

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ſophy would experience a repetition of all the perſecution it has formerly ſuffered.

From theſe reflections we may conclude, firſt, that the Greeks have always honoured the talents ſubſervient to their pleaſures, more than thoſe which contribute to their inſtruction; ſecondly, that natural have had more influence than moral cauſes in the progreſs of letters, and moral more than natural in that of the arts; and thirdly, that the Athenians are not juſtified in attributing to themſelves the origin, or at leaſt the perfection of the arts and ſciences [d]. Falſely do they flatter themſelves that they have opened and pointed out to other nations the glorious paths to immortality [e]; Nature does not ſeem to have diſtinguiſhed them from the other Greeks in the diſtribution of her favours. They have indeed invented the drama; they have produced celebrated orators, two or three hiſtorians, and a very ſmall number of painters, ſculptors, and able architects; but in almoſt all theſe branches

[d] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 138.
[e] Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. 6, cap. 13, p. 250.

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the reſt of Greece may produce a multitude of illuſtrious names to diſpute their claim. I do not even know whether the climate of Attica be ſo favourable to the productions of genius as that of Ionia and Sicily.

Athens is not ſo much the birth-place as the reſidence of great talents. Her riches enable her to employ them, and her knowledge to appreciate their value: the magnificence of her feſtivals, the mildneſs of her laws, the number and complacent character of her inhabitants, would ſuffice to fix within her walls men eager to acquire fame, who muſt have a theatre, rivals, and judges.

Pericles attached ſuch men to him by the ſuperiority of his influence; Aſpaſia, by the charms of her converſation; and both, by a diſcerning eſteem. Aſpaſia can be compared only with herſelf. The Greeks were ſtill leſs aſtoniſhed at her beauty than her eloquence, and the profundity and elegance of her underſtanding. Socrates, Alcibiades, men of letters, the moſt celebrated artiſts, and the moſt amiable of the Athenians of either ſex, aſſembled around this extraordi-

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nary woman, who commanded the reſpect of all, and converſed in all their languages.

This ſociety was the model of thoſe which have been ſince formed. The love of letters, arts, and enjoyments, which connects all men, and confounds diſtinctions, rendered ſenſible the merit of a delicacy in language and manners. Such as had received from Nature the gift of pleaſing, exerted every endeavour to pleaſe; and this deſire embelliſhed talents with new graces. The tone of good company was ſoon diſtinguiſhable. This, as it is partly founded on arbitrary conventions, and ſuppoſes a degree of refinement and tranquillity of mind, was long in purifying, and could never find its way into all ranks of ſociety. In a word, that politeneſs which at firſt was only the expreſſion of eſteem, inſenſibly degenerated into diſſimulation; every one was careful to laviſh attentions upon others, that he might receive ſtill greater in return, and to flatter their ſelf-love, that they might not wound his own.

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NOTES.

NOTE I.

On the Dialects made uſe of by Homer.

PAGE 95.

HOMER frequently employs the different dialects of Greece; and this has been imputed to him as a fault. It is, ſay theſe critics, as if a French writer were to lay under contribution the dialects of Languedoc, of Picardy, and other local idioms. The reproach is apparently well founded. But how is it poſſible to imagine that Homer, endowed with the readieſt and moſt fertile genius, ſhould have allowed himſelf to take liberties, on which the moſt inconſiderable of poets would not venture; and have dared to create, in order to facilitate his verſification, a fantaſtic language, with which not only poſterity, but even his own age, however ignorant we may ſuppoſe it, muſt have been diſguſted? It is more natural therefore to conclude that he made uſe of the uſual language of his time.

Among the ancient inhabitants of Greece, the ſame letters ſignified ſounds more or leſs aſpirated, or more

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of more or leſs open; the ſame words had ſeveral terminations, and were variouſly modified. Theſe undoubtedly were irregularities, but ſuch as are common enough in the infancy of languages, and ſuch as might well have ſubſiſted for a long time among the Greeks, from the frequency of emigrations. When theſe tribes of people were completely ſettled, certain modes of ſpeech became peculiar to certain diſtricts; and it was at this period that language was divided into dialects, which of themſelves were ſuſceptible of ſubdiviſions. The frequent variations words have undergone, as we ſee in the moſt ancient monuments of our own language, give us reaſon to preſume that the ſame thing has happened in the language of Greece.

To this general reaſon we muſt add another relative to the country in which Homer wrote. The Ionian colony, which, two centuries before the birth of that poet, went to ſettle on the coaſts of Aſia Minor, under Naoclus, the ſon of Codrus, was in a great meaſure compoſed of Ionians from Peloponneſus; but they were joined likewiſe by a number of the inhabitants of Thebes, Phocis, and ſome other countries of Greece (*a*).

It appears to me probable, therefore, that the language made uſe of by Homer was formed from a mixture of the reſpective idioms of theſe emigrants with thoſe of the Æolians and other Greek colonies bordering on Ionia; but that at length, by the progreſſive alterations common to all languages, ſome dialects were circumſcribed within certain cities, and aſſumed more diſtinct characters, retaining nevertheleſs varieties ſufficient to

(*a*) Pauſanias, lib. 7, cap. 3, p. 528.

atteſt

atteſt the ancient confuſion. And in fact Herodotus, who wrote four hundred years after Homer (*b*), admits four ſub-diviſions in the dialect then ſpoken in Ionia (*c*).

NOTE II.

On Epimenides. PAGE 120.

EVERY thing relative to Epimenides is full of obſcurity. Some ancient authors make him come to Athens towards the year 600 before Chriſt. Plato is the only one who fixes the date of this journey to the year 500 before the ſame æra (*d*). This difficulty has perplexed the modern critics. It has been ſaid that the text of Plato was corrupted; but this does not appear to have been the caſe. It has likewiſe been ſaid that there were two perſons of the name of Epimenides; but this ſuppoſition is deſtitute of probability. In fine, after ſome ancient authors, who make Epimenides live 154, 157, nay even 299 years, ſome have ventured to advance that he came twice to Athens; the firſt time at the age of forty, and the ſecond at that of one hundred and fifty (*e*). It is indeed poſſible that this may be true; but it is ſtill more ſo that Plato was miſtaken. For further ſatisfaction the reader may conſult Fabricius (*f*).

(*b*) Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 53.
(*c*) Id. lib. 1, cap. 142.
(*d*) Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 642.
(*e*) Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. iii. p. 72.
(*f*) Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 36 et 502. Brucker. Hiſtor. Crit. Philoſ. t. i. p. 419.

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NOTE III.

On the Authority of Fathers at Athens.

PAGE 141.

WHEN we see Solon depriving fathers of the power of selling their children, as they had formerly done, we can with difficulty believe that he allowed them to put them to death, as several ancient writers posterior to that legislator have asserted (*g*). I should rather be inclined to credit the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who in his Roman Antiquities (*h*) observes that by the laws of Solon, Pittacus, and Charondas, the Greeks only permitted fathers to disinherit their children, or expel them their houses, without suffering them to inflict any severer punishments. If the Greeks afterwards gave a greater extent to the paternal power, it is to be presumed that they borrowed the idea from the Roman laws.

NOTE IV.

On the Song of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

PAGE 174.

ATHENÆUS (*i*) has given us one of the songs composed in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which M. de la Nauze (*k*) has thus translated:

(*g*) Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypot. lib. 3, cap. 24. p. 180. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1, p. 24. Vid. Meurs. Them. Attic. lib. 1, cap. 2.
(*h*) Dionys. Halic. lib. 2, cap. 26. p. 292.
(*i*) Athen. lib. 15, cap. 15, p. 695.
(*k*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. 2. p. 33.

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" I will wear my ſword covered with myrtle branches, like Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, when they ſlew the tyrant, and eſtabliſhed equality of laws in Athens.

" Beloved Harmodius! thou art not dead: they ſay thou liveſt in the iſlands of the bleſſed, where is the ſwift-footed Achilles, and Diomed the valiant ſon of Tydeus.

" I will wear my ſword covered with myrtle-branches, like Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, when they ſlew the tyrant Hipparchus at the feſtival of the Panathenæa.

" May your glory be eternal, beloved Harmodius, beloved Ariſtogiton! ſince you have ſlain the tyrant, and eſtabliſhed equality of laws in Athens."

NOTE V.

On the Treaſures of the Kings of Perſia. PAGE 196.

WE ſee, by what is ſaid in the text, the reaſon why Alexander found ſuch vaſt ſums accumulated in the treaſuries of Perſepolis, Suſa, Paſagarda, &c. (*l*). I doubt, notwithſtanding, whether we ſhould give credit

(*l*) Arrian. lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 128. Ibid. cap. 18, p. 131. Quint. Curt. lib. 5, cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 544. Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 686.

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to Juſtin, when he ſays (*m*) that, after the conqueſt of Perſia, Alexander annually drew three hundred thouſand talents from his new ſubjects, which would make about ſixteen hundred and twenty millions of French livres (or ſixty-ſeven millions and a half ſterling).

NOTE VI.

On the Bridges of Boats built over the Helleſpont, by Order of Xerxes. PAGE 231.

THESE two bridges began at Abydos, and terminated a little below Seſtus. It is now known that this paſſage, which is the narroweſt part of the ſtrait, is only about 375½ toiſes (or 800 yards) wide. As the length of the bridges is ſaid to have been ſeven ſtadia, M. D'Anville has from thence inferred, that theſe ſtadia were only 51 toiſes (108 yards) each (*n*).

NOTE VII.

On the Number of Grecian Troops under the Command of Leonidas at Thermopylæ. PAGE 251.

I SHALL now lay before the reader the eſtimates of Herodotus, lib. 7, cap. 202; of Pauſanias, lib. 10, cap. 20, pag. 845; and of Diodorus, lib. 11, p. 4.

(*m*) Juſtin. lib. 13, cap. 1.
(*n*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 334.

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TROOPS OF PELOPONNESUS.

According to Herodotus.		According to Pauſanias.		According to Diodorus.	
Spartans - -	300	Spartans - -	300	Spartans - -	300
Tegeatæ - -	500	Tegeatæ - -	500	Lacedæmonians	700
Mantineans -	500	Mantineans -	500		
Orchomenians -	120	Orchomenians -	120		
Arcadians -	1000	Arcadians - -	1000		
Corinthians -	400	Corinthians -	400		
Phliuntians -	200	Phliuntians -	200	Other States of Peloponneſus	3000
Myceneans - -	80	Myceneans -	80		
Total -	3100	Total -	3100	Total -	4000

OTHER STATES OF GREECE.

Theſpians -	700	Theſpians - -	700	Mileſians - -	1000
Thebans - -	400	Thebans - -	400	Thebans - -	400
Phocians - -	1000	Phocians - -	1000	Phocians -	1000
Opuntian-Locrians		Locrians - -	6000	Locrians - -	1000
Total -	5200	Total -	11,200	Total -	7400

Thus, according to Herodotus, the cities of Peloponneſus furniſhed 3100 ſoldiers, the Theſpians 700, the Thebans 400, the Phocians 1000; total 5200, without reckoning the Opuntian-Locrians, who marched in a body.

Pauſanias follows, for the other nations, the calculation of Herodotus, and conjectures that the Locrians amounted to 6000; which gives a total of 11,200 men.

According to Diodorus, Leonidas repaired to Thermopylæ at the head of 4000 men, among whom were 300 Spartans, and 700 Lacedæmonians. He adds that

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this body was ſoon reinforced by 1000 Mileſians, 400 Thebans, 1000 Locrians, and almoſt an equal number of Phocians; total 7400 men. On the other hand, Juſtin (*o*) and other authors ſay that Leonidas had but 4000 men.

Theſe doubts would perhaps vaniſh, if we had all the inſcriptions which were engraved after the battle on five columns erected at Thermopylæ (*p*). We ſtill have that of the augur Megiſtias (*q*); but this throws no light on the ſubject: the others were conſecrated to the ſoldiers of the different nations. On that of the Spartans it is ſaid they were 300; on another it was inſcribed, that 4000 ſoldiers of Peloponneſus had fought againſt three millions of Perſians (*r*). That of the Locrians is quoted by Strabo, who does not give us the particulars (*s*): the number of their ſoldiers muſt have been on it. We have not the laſt, which was doubtleſs for the Theſpians; for it could not be either for the Phocians, who did not fight; or the Thebans, who had gone over to Xerxes when theſe monuments were erected.

The following are a few reflections to reconcile the preceding eſtimates:

1. It is evident that Juſtin relied ſolely on the inſcription in honour of the nations of Peloponneſus, when he allows only 4000 men to Leonidas.

2. Herodotus does not fix the number of the Lo-

(*o*) Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 11.
(*p*) Strab. lib. 9, p. 429.
(*q*) Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 228.
(*r*) Id. ibid.
(*s*) Strab. ibid.

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crians. It is only by a ſlight conjecture that Pauſanias makes it amount to 6000. In the firſt place, Strabo may be oppoſed to him, who poſitively ſays (*t*) that Leonidas received from the neighbouring nations only a ſmall number of ſoldiers; and next, Diodorus Siculus, who in his eſtimate allows only 1000 Locrians.

3. In the enumeration of theſe troops, Diodorus has omitted the Theſpians (*u*), though he makes mention of them in the courſe of his narration (*x*): inſtead of the Theſpians he reckons 1000 Mileſians. No people of this name are known on the continent of Greece. Paulmier (*y*) is of opinion that we ſhould ſubſtitute the name of Malians for that of Mileſians. Theſe Malians had at firſt ſubmitted to Xerxes (*z*); and, as we might be ſurpriſed at ſeeing them united with the Greeks, Paulmier ſuppoſes, from a paſſage of Herodotus (*a*), that they did not declare openly for the Perſians until after the fight at Thermopylæ. Is it however to be preſumed that, inhabiting, as they did, an open country, they would have dared to take up arms againſt a powerful nation to which they had ſworn obedience? It is much more probable that, in the affair of Thermopylæ, they furniſhed ſuccours neither to the Greeks nor Perſians; but that, after the battle, they ſent ſome ſhips to join the fleet of the latter. By whatever means this error has crept into the

(*t*) Strab. lib. 9, p. 429.
(*u*) Diod. lib. 11, p. 5.
(*x*) Id. ibid. p. 8.
(*y*) Palmer. Exercit. p. 106.
(*z*) Diod. lib. 11, p. 3.
(*a*) Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 66.

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text of Diodorus, I am inclined to think that, inſtead of 1000 Mileſians, we ſhould read 700 Theſpians.

4. Diodorus adds 700 Lacedæmonians to the 300 Spartans; and his teſtimony is clearly confirmed by that of Iſocrates (*b*). Herodotus does not mention them, perhaps from their not beginning their march till after Leonidas. I have however thought it right to admit them. Independent of the authorities of Diodorus and Iſocrates, we know that the Spartans ſeldom took the field without being accompanied by a body of Lacedæmonians. It is alſo certain that the cities of Peloponneſus furniſhed 4000 men: this number was clearly expreſſed in the inſcription placed upon their tomb; yet Herodotus reckons only 3100, not thinking it neceſſary to mention the 700 Lacedæmonians, who, according to all appearance, joined Leonidas at Thermopylæ.

To conclude theſe remarks—Herodotus carries the number of the combatants to 5200; and if we add on the one hand 700 Lacedæmonians, and on the other the Locrians, whoſe number he has not ſpecified, and who are ſtated by Diodorus only at 1000, we ſhall have 6900 men.

Pauſanias reckons 11,200 men; and if we add the 700 Lacedæmonians he has omitted, after the example of Herodotus, we ſhall have 11,900. Let us reduce, with Diodorus, the 6000 Locrians to 1000, and we ſhall have a total of 6900 men.

The calculation of Diodorus gives us 7400 men. If we change the 1000 Mileſians into 700 Theſpians, we

(*b*) Iſocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 164; et in Archid. t. ii. p. 62.

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ſhall have 7100: on the whole therefore we may ſay, that Leonidas had with him about 7000 men.

It appears by Herodotus (*c*) that the Spartans, according to cuſtom, were accompanied by Helots. Ancient authors have not compriſed them in their eſtimates; and poſſibly they did not exceed the number of 300.

When Leonidas learnt that the enemy were attempting to turn his army, he ſent back the greater part of his troops, retaining only the Spartans, the Theſpians, and Thebans, which formed a nominal body of 1400 men: but the greater part had periſhed in the firſt attacks; and, if we may credit Diodorus (*d*), Leonidas had no more than 500 ſoldiers when he determined to attack the Perſian camp.

NOTE VIII.

On the Sums expended on the Public Edifices erected by Order of Pericles. PAGE 456.

THUCYDIDES (*e*) gives us to underſtand that they amounted to 3700 talents; in which calculation he compriſes not only the expence of the Propylæa, and other edifices built by order of Pericles, but that of the ſiege of Potidæa. This ſiege, ſays he elſewhere (*f*), coſt 2000 talents; there would therefore only remain 1700 for

(*c*) Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 229; et lib. 8, cap. 25.
(*d*) Diod. lib. 11, p. 8, 9.
(*e*) Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 13.
(*f*) Id. ibid. cap. 70.

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the works undertaken by the direction of Pericles. But an ancient author (*g*) reports that the Propylæa alone coſt 2012 talents.

To reſolve this difficulty, let us obſerve that Thucydides has only given us the ſtate of the Athenian finances for the preciſe time when the Peloponneſian war was determined on; that the ſiege of Potidæa was then ſcarcely begun; that it laſted two years; and that the hiſtorian, in the former paſſage, ſpoke only of the firſt expences of the ſiege. Suppoſing that they then amounted to 700 talents, we will appropriate the remaining 3000 to the buildings with which Pericles embelliſhed the city. 3000 talents, at 5400 livres each talent, make 16,200,000 livres (or 675,000 l. ſterling); but as, in the time of Pericles, the talent might be worth 300 livres more, we ſhall have 17,100,000 livres (or 712,500 l. ſterling).

(*g*) Heliod. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in προπὺλ.

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